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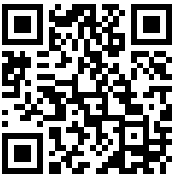

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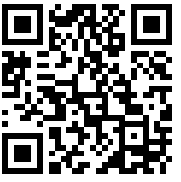

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Studies in Philology

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Harry Hayden Clark. What Made Freneau the Father of American Poetry?	1
Clarence Paul Hotson. Emerson's Biographical Sources for "Swedenborg"	23
Lois Ware. Poetic Conventions in "Leaves of Grass"	47
Raymond W. Adams. Thoreau and Immortality	58
Clarence Gohdes. "The Western Messenger" and "The Dial"	67
Norman Foerster. Wordsworth in America	85
Tremaine McDowell. The Juvenile Verse of William Cullen Bryant	96
Edwin Greenlaw. Britomart at the House of Busirane	117
H. M. Belden. Alanus de Insulis, Giles Fletcher, and the "Mutabilitie" Cantos	131
Stanislas Helsztyński. Milton in Poland	145
Edgar H. Riley. Milton's Tribute to Virgil	155
Robert Boies Sharpe. "We Band of Brothers"	166
Ernest Kuhl. "The Wanton Wife of Bath" and Queen Elizabeth	177
Samuel A. Tannenbaum. Corrections of the Text of Parts I and II of the "Parnassus" Trilogy	184
Hardin Craig. Recent Literature of the English Renaissance	192
Thomas M. Raysor. Coleridge and "Asra"	305
Rae Blanchard. Richard Steele and the Status of Women	325
Marjorie Nicolson. The Early Stage of Cartesianism in England	356
J. R. Hulbert. What was Chaucer's Aim in the "Knight's Tale"?	375
Frank W. Cady. Towneley, York, and True-Coventry	386
Dougald MacMillan. The First Editions of Home's "Douglas"	401
George R. Coffman. A Plea for the Study of the Corpus Christi Plays as Drama	411

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PAGE

Edwin S. Lindsey. The Original Music for Beaumont's Play "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" 425

Abbie F. Potts. Wordsworth and William Fleetwood's "Sermons" 444

Franklyn B. Snyder. Burns's Last Years 457

Joseph M. Beatty, Jr. Mr. Graydon's "Defense of Criseyde" 470

Evelyn May Albright. On the Dating of Spenser's "Mutability" Cantos 482

W. K. Chandler. The Topography of Dekker's "The Shoemaker's Holiday" 499

EXTRA SERIES, I

Charles Crawford. "Greenes Funeralls," 1594, and Nicholas Breton 1

Hyder E. Rollins. Notes on Brian Melbancke's "Philotimus" 40

R. W. Babcock. A Preliminary Bibliography of Eighteenth-Century Criticism of Shakespeare 58

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXVI JANUARY, 1929 Number 1

WHAT MADE FRENEAU THE FATHER OF AMERICAN POETRY?

By Harry Hayden Clark

In spite of the fact that Jefferson credited Freneau with having "saved our constitution which was galloping fast into monarchy," [1] in spite of the fact that Stedman traced to Freneau "the first essential poetic spirit in America," [2] there has been as yet no popular edition of his poetry, no collected edition of his prose, and there has been slight effort to go beyond a description of his work, to track his political faith and his poetic faith to their common root in naturalism. In the present paper I shall try to show that (a) naturalism determined his treatment of indigenous American phenomena; (b) that the consequent sensuousness accounts for the improved aesthetic quality of his poetry; (c) that his naturalism is of the eighteenth century transitional sort; and (d) that naturalism determined the choice of the theme which he treats most poetically—the theme of transience. Freneau's naturalism may be likened to the hub of a wheel, from which the spokes of his varied interests radiate.

I

If Freneau's naturalism made him the journalist of Jeffersonian and French democracy, if his faith in the natural goodness of humanity made him hostile toward embodiments of social restraint,[3] it is no less true that his naturalism, his faith that "all

[1] Jefferson's *Writings*, I, 231.

[2] *Poets of America*, Boston, 1896, p. 35.

[3] The writer hopes to present convincing evidence to support this contention in the introduction to the forthcoming *Poems of Freneau* in the American Authors Series (Harcourt, Brace & Co.).

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that we see" is but "Nature's God,"[4] led him to view the very ground under his feet—in the phrase of Burroughs, his lineal descendant—as "The Divine Soil." Several years ago Professor C. A. Moore demonstrated that "deism may be said to be the starting point for our modern romantic treatment of nature."[5] This is especially true in the case of Freneau, and is but one instance of how fruitful in American literature would be a more thorough and detached study of the inter-relations of poetry and religion. Confident that "God is One,"[6] Freneau venerates all nature, from the lowest to the highest, as equally a divine revelation:

> Ah! what is all this mighty whole,
> These suns and stars that round us roll!
> What are they all, where'er they shine,
> But Fancies of the Power Divine!
> What is this globe, these lands, and seas,
> And heat, and cold, and flowers, and trees,
> And life, and death, and beast, and man,
> And time—that with the sun began—
> But thoughts on reason's scale combin'd,
> Ideas of the Almighty mind![7]

In contrast to the Puritan Edwards' faith in a "divine and supernatural light," Freneau's faith aligns itself with the international deistic movement which derived from the rationalism of Locke and Descartes, was reinforced by Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, and was versified in *The Essay on Man* (1734), which we know Freneau studied:

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul.

Later, after deism had evolved into Unitarianism, and Emerson had resigned his Unitarian pulpit, he said that "to study nature" and "to know thyself" were "the same thing," for both are but parts of that "Unity, that Over-Soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other." Coleridge was a Unitarian before he became a pantheist in *The Aeolian Harp* and *Frost and Midnight*. Wordsworth did homage to a god

[4] "On the Universality of the God of Nature."
[5] *Studies in Philology*, XIV, 243.
[6] "On a Book called Unitarian Theology."
[7] "The Power of Fancy."

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"whose dwelling is the light of setting suns," and Shelley proclaimed that "the universe is God" and "mixed awful talk" with his "great parent." The rebellious Byron had learned to "worship Nature with a thought profound," his "altars" being "the mountains and the ocean, earth, air, stars,—all that springs from the great Whole." When men became conscious of the identity of God and nature, they rushed out of doors, ceased to feel that "Nature and Homer were . . . the same," and they began to write, as Wordsworth said, "with the eye on the object." In place of abstractions, men like Emerson came to see that "the veritable mark of wisdom is finding the miraculous in the common"; ideas were transmuted into images as men turned to the concrete, physical, sensuous world—the true world of poetry.

In connection with Freneau, however, we must remember that his work marks the starting-point in America of this all-important trend toward the concrete in poetry. And it is naturalism which explains why, concurrent with our political independence, he heralded our literary independence, so far as themes are concerned, by bringing into poetry for the first time truly indigenous American nature. In his work even a casual reader will find roses, daisies, daffodils, the honey-suckle, pumpkins, cedars, "the apple, apricot, and plum," "the tall chestnut," corn, "wheaten sheeves," the oak, "shrubby hazels," "dry alders," the aspin, the "sad pine," buckwheat, oats, the "weeping willow," ivy, mint, the beech and the cypress-tree, as well as the lynx, the panther, "howling wolves," the "fearless doe," the pheasant, the blackbird, the lark, the "loquacious whip-poor-will," the "timorous deer," the buffalo, the beaver, the hare, leverets, dogs, the caty-did, the honey-bee, the "angry tiger," the "staring owl," the squirrel, the parrot, and the goldfinch.

II

The aesthetic significance of this frank love of what Wordsworth called "this mighty world of ear and eye" is apparent only when one recalls that up to this time—with a minor exception here and there—American poetry had been mainly versified homiletics, such as Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*. In an age of generality and abstraction Freneau was a pioneer—inspired by his naturalistic faith—in turning, as a poet, to the concrete and the particular, around which true emotion hovers, and from the fertile soil of

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which authentic poetry, like Antaeus of the fable, draws its abiding strength. Naturalism, then, bred in Freneau that "requickening of the artistic senses" which Professor Elton finds to be one of the significant marks of nascent romanticism. "The history of our imaginative writing," he remarks, "is at bottom very much the history of the artistic senses and their growth."[8] At times Freneau's all-embracing sensuousness is almost Keatsian; unusual indeed in the year 1776 in American verse are the multitude of "sense-appeals" which throng "The Beauties of Santa-Cruz," especially the Keatsian appeal to the senses of touch, taste, and smell with the consequent impression of immediacy and warmth. In the "soft shade" of a "sweet orange grove" "luxuriously reclined on his fragrant bed," by "cool woodland streams" amid "soft breezes" he watches in Lotus-eater mood the fishes, colorful as the ancient mariner's water-snakes:

> Some streaked with burnished gold, resplendent glare,
> Some cleave the limpid deep, all silver'd o'er,
> Some, clad in living green, delight the eye,
> Some red, some blue; of mingled colours more.

His mouth waters at the thought of "this luscious food," "delicious to the taste," and the chance to "cool thy thirst" with the "sweetest syrups of this liquorish clime." The "fragrant" fruit of the tropics is "alluring to the smell":

> Sweet orange groves in lonely vallies rise
> And drop their fruits, unnoticed and unknown,
> And cooling acid limes in hedges grow,
> The juicy lemons swell in shades their own.

Correlated with this refreshed and sharpened attention to the physical world there appears in Freneau a natural, simple, concrete diction very different from the tasteless and abstract periphasis, "the gaudy and inane phraseology of Pope." Read such genuine and simple poems as "The Wild Honey Suckle," "The Indian Burying Ground," "The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi," or "To a Caty-Did," and you will seek in vain for the false Arcadianism of Thomson, for landscapes peopled with Damons, Palaemons, and Musidoras in the sentimental array of the sham idyl. Imagine the shudder which would run through the fastidious author of

[8] *A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880*, N. Y., 1920, I, 11.

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"The Rape of the Lock" at an illustration of disillusionment such as Freneau used at the end of "The Vanity of Existence":

> So nightly on some shallow tide,
> Oft have I seen a splendid show;
> Reflected stars on either side,
> And glittering moons were seen below.
>
> But when the tide had ebb'd away,
> The scene fantastic with it fled,
> A bank of mud around me lay,
> And sea-weed on the river's bed.

It seems to me that it is just such simple, concrete, genuine, and beautiful diction as the above—in this instance springing from Freneau's own observation as a sailor—which makes him merit the title, "The Father of American Poetry." And this concrete diction is clearly due in no small measure to naturalism, which led him to observe directly, thus enabling him to solve what Pater regarded as the greatest technical problem of the artist—"the transmutation of ideas into images." Naturalism peopled his mind with images, and the faith that God is revealed in nature's meanest forms did not make it necessary for him "to go too far below that outside of things in which art really begins and ends."[9] "All art," Conrad asserted categorically, "appeals primarily to the senses, and the artistic aim, when expressing itself in written words must also make its appeal through the senses, if its high desire is to reach the secret spring of responsive emotions."[10] However much one may disparage naturalism on philosophical or ethical grounds, it is difficult to escape the fact that historically the return to nature, to sensuous life, resulted in poetry of immensely increased aesthetic value. It is instructive to note that the three ages of poetic eminence in England—the Age of Chaucer, the Age of Shakespeare, and the Age of Wordsworth—coincide with ages when men were enamoured of the concrete world before their eyes; conversely, the three alternate barren ages—1500, 1700, and 1900—coincide with ages interested mainly in the rational and the abstract.

[9] *Renaissance* (Modern Library Edition), p. 93.
[10] Preface to *The Nigger of the Narcissus*.

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III

But if naturalism determined Freneau's treatment of indigenous American phenomena, and if the consequent sensuousness accounts for the increased aesthetic quality of his poetry, it must be carefully pointed out that he lacked that faculty of detailed and minute observation of nature which distinguished such nineteenth century naturalists as Thoreau and Burroughs. Indeed, in some of his better poems, as in *May to April* or *The Seasons Moralized,* nature is merely used in the eighteenth century conventional and generalized manner in similitudes for human destinies. If the reader will glance back at the adjectives Freneau applies to a few of the flowers and animals he loved, he will note that his descriptions tend to the conventional and the general, with slight individualizing touches. Indeed, it would be interesting to ascertain to what extent minute observation of nature was advanced by the growth of scientific study, as illustrated, for example, in the botanical *Travels of William Bartram* (1791). At any rate, we recall that the poet Freneau was a contemporary of Dr. Johnson, whom he studied,[11] and that he would probably have agreed with him that a poet's business is not in numbering the "streaks of the tulip" but rather in "descriptions not descending to minuteness."[12] Freneau's veneration for "thrice happy Dryden,"[13] "godlike Addison,"[14] and "heav'nly Pope"[15] should put us on our guard against setting him down as a full-fledged romanticist.

His affiliations will perhaps be evident if we analyze his treatment of two typical themes—the Indian and the sea—in relation to their treatment by other poets in the eighteenth century on one hand and the nineteenth century on the other. Believing that men are naturally "good and great, benign and just,"[16] that one should "accuse not nature" for evil but rather "crowns and sceptres,"

[11] See Freneau's reference to Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* on p. 333, Vol. II, of Pattee's edition of the *Poems of Philip Freneau,* Princeton 1902-07.

[12] *Lives of the Poets,* I, 20-21.

[13] *Poems of Philip Freneau,* edited by Pattee, II, 333.

[14] *Ibid.,* III, 393.

[15] *Ibid.,* III, 393.

[16] *Ibid.,* III, 273.

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"the priests that hold the artillery of the sky,"[17] Freneau inevitably looked back to the primitive days of our lost innocence, to the noble Redman, in his treatment of Rousseau's theme that the progress of the arts and sciences has tended to corrupt the morals of mankind. He pictures the idyllic life of the Indian before the advent of Columbus:

> Sweet sylvan scenes of innocence and ease,
> How calm and joyous pass the seasons here!
> No splendid towns or spiry turrets rise,
> No leafy palaces—no tyrant kings
> Enact hard laws to crush fair freedom here;
> No gloomy jails to shut up wretched men;
> All, all are free! here God and nature reign;
> Their works unsullied by the hands of men.[18]

And then he asks,

> What charm is seen through Europe's realms of strife
> That adds new blessings to the savage life?[19]
>
> But why disturb these Indian climes,
> The pictures of more happy times![20]

Elsewhere he writes of "These Indians":

> In a mere state of Nature, untutor'd, untaught,
> They did as they pleas'd, and they spoke as they thought—
> . . . . . .
> In the midst of their forests how happy and blest,
> In the skin of a bear or a buffalo drest!
> No care to perplex, and no luxury seen
> But the feast, and the song, and the dance on the green.[21]

In these charming pictures of a terrestrial paradise, in his elaboration of the doctrine that man has fallen not from Calvin's God but from Rousseau's nature, Freneau is foreshadowing the "Happy Valley" of Melville's *Typee*, before the clash between transcendental optimism and a first-hand knowledge of a nature "red in tooth and claw" produced *Moby-Dick*. Just as Macpherson manu-

[17] *Ibid.*, III, 217.
[18] *Ibid.*, I, 117.
[19] Pattee, I, 87.
[20] *Ibid.*, I, 94.
[21] *Ibid.*, II, 266-67.

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factured *Ossian* to prove the Shaftesburian doctrine of the benevolent magnanimity of the natural man, so Freneau saw a proof of this theory in the fading fortunes of the Redman:

> Nor think this mighty land of old contain'd
> The plundering wretch, or man of bloody mind: . . .
> The gen'rous soul inspir'd the honest breast,
> And to be free, was doubly to be blest:
> 'Till the east winds did here Columbus blow, . . .
> And rav'nous nations with industrious toil,
> Conspir'd to rob them of their native soil.[22]

Evidence of this ascription of innate goodness—a recoil from Puritan depravity—to the Indian is interesting, since it suggests another possible source for the doctrine which determined to a large extent Freneau's political activity. Professor Lane Cooper suggests, at any rate, that the idea of natural goodness "seems rather to have come from the travellers"—who idolized the Indian—"than from Rousseau."[23] For example, in *The Travels of William Bartram,* printed in Philadelphia in 1791, we read: "Can it be denied, but that the moral principle, which directs the savages to virtuous and praiseworthy actions, is natural or innate?"[24]. We are prone to forget that the whole seventeenth century was essentially a conflict between the natural man and the theological man—between Rabelais and Calvin—and that naturalism was fairly wide-spread in the early eighteenth century. For example, Dryden had written of "the noble savage" as early as 1672, and in *The Essay on Man* (1734)—a copy of which, carefully annotated, had been in Freneau's library since 1761[25]—Pope exclaims:

> Nor think in Nature's state they blindly trod;
> The State of Nature was the reign of God.[26]

It is unnecessary, then, to think that even Freneau's most radical poems on the Indian derive from Rousseau or are unusually advanced for their time. This glorification of the Indian was only one aspect of that naturalistic glorification of all that was simple,

[22] Pattee, III, 387.
[23] *Cambridge History of American Literature,* I, 187.
[24] In the edition of 1928, edited by Van Doren, p. 45.
[25] I have treated Freneau's sources in *Studies in Philology,* XXII, 1-33.
[26] Part III, ll. 147-48.

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naïve, and unspoiled by civilization, which one finds everywhere in the eighteenth century. Here, again, naturalism inspired two poems as simple, sensitive, and imaginative as Freneau ever wrote; I refer to *The Indian Burying Ground* and *The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi.* For delicacy of fancy, felicity of execution, and suggestiveness, the first is probably his masterpiece. In contrast to the Indian custom of burying their dead in a sitting posture, which serves to

> Bespeak the nature of the soul,
> Activity, that knows no rest,

the poet suggests that

> The posture that we give the dead,
> Points out the soul's eternal sleep.

As everyone knows, Campbell plagiarized the last line of the mystic and musical stanza:

> By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews;
> In habit for the chase arrayed,
> The hunter still the deer pursues,
> The hunter and the deer, a shade!

The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi, beautiful but less restrained, presents the Indian, not stoically rejoicing at nearing "the land where his father is gone," but lamenting his departure from happy scenes here. In place of "those savage notions of valour and romantic heroism" so "horrible to the imagination" which Freneau deals with in *The Scandinavian War Song*[28]—recalling Gray's *Fatal Sisters*—he gives us here a sentimental melancholy not alien to the age of the Wartons, Gray, Richardson, Collins and Cowper.

As one proceeds to read the Indian poems of Freneau a characteristic inconsistency appears. As the poet becomes older, he sees in the savage not so much a "noble Redman," naturally benevolent, as "the unsocial Indian,"[29] "the murderous Indian,"[30] "the

[27] In "O'Connor's Child," *Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell,* p. 58.

[28] Pattee, II, 159.

[29] *Ibid.,* II, 280.

[30] *Ibid.,* III, 79.

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cruel Indian."[31] The conclusion of *The Indian Convert* is flatly unromantic; here the savage, who has been exposed to civilization, is disgusted with the clergyman's picture of heaven:

> Farewell (said the Indian) I'm none of your mess;
> On victuals, so airy, I faintish should feel,
> I cannot consent to be lodged in a place
> *Where's there's nothing to eat and but little to steal.*

The increased realistic attitude may be explained as having resulted from more mature observation, and from the fact that the Indians had allied themselves with the English on the frontier. "The Indian, to the English true," had massacred his countrymen.[32] To Freneau, then, the Indian is both an innocent child of nature and a murdering savage. This bifurcated attitude is characteristic; Freneau's roots, we must not forget, were in the earlier eighteenth century in which Cotton Mather referred to the Indians as "tawney serpents" and the Reverend Solomon Stoddard of Northampton urged the use of dogs "to hunt Indians as they do Bears," when both Connecticut and Massachusetts offered bounties for scalps.[33] Freneau saw the Indian through the eyes of the settler as well as through the eyes of the romancer; as regards the Indian, he is both a realist and a romanticist.

Nor is the situation much different if one examines with care Freneau's poems of the sea, the domain of which he—rather than Cooper or Scott—is credited with having added to literature. His business as mate and master of freight vessels, his general love of nature, and his patriotic interest in naval battles led him to write—which is, of course, important in itself—of the actual sea. But did he write of the sea like a contemporary, let us say, of Falconer, author of *The Shipwreck* (1762), or of Byron, who said that he "*Swam* more miles than all the rest of them together now living

[31] *Ibid.*, I, 279.

[32] *Ibid.*, III, 314.

[33] See Turner, *The Frontier and American History*, New York, 1920, p. 45. The erroneous ascription of "The Death Song of a Cherokee Indian" to Freneau in the third edition of volume one of *The American Museum* (1790, I, 77) and its inclusion in Professor Pattee's edition has misled several students—myself included. See T. P. Cross, *Modern Philology*, XVII, 235, and see Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, 1855, I, 341, note.

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ever sailed?" [34] Are his affiliations with the eighteenth century, or with sea-writers like Dana, Melville, Whitman, or Conrad and Swinburne? "The main points in the eighteenth century conception of the sea," according to Professor Reynolds, "were its usefulness as a commercial highway and its destructive power in storms. This impression of irresistible force is sometimes vivid enough for result in strong phrasing, but the changing beauty, the majesty, the mysterious suggestiveness of the sea found no expression in English classical poetry." [35] In the light of this criterion let us turn to *Lines by H. Salem, on his Return from Calcutta,*[36] which is fairly representative. After rebuking those who suppose "the sailor a wretch," he describes his pleasure on the ocean.

> Yes—give me a vessel well timbered and sound
> Her bottom good plank, and in rigging well-found,
> If her spars are but staunch, and her oakum swelled tight,
> From tempests and storms I'll extract some delight—
> At sea I would rather have Neptune my jailor,
> Than a lubber on shore, that despises a sailor.
> Do you ask me what pleasure I find on the sea?—
> Why, absence from land is a pleasure to me:
> A hamper of porter, and plenty of grog,
> A friend, when too sleepy, to give me a jog,
> A coop that will always some poultry afford,
> Some bottles of gin, and no parson on board,
> A crew that is brisk when it happens to blow,
> One compass on deck and another below,
> A girl, with more sense than the girl at the head,
> To read me a novel, or make up my bed—
> The man that has these, has a treasure in store
> That millions possess not, who live upon shore. . . .

In spite of his last lines, we are obliged to conclude that the "delights" of the sea which he lists are primarily those which might be enjoyed on land; to the sea as sea he is indifferent. Nor is his kinship with his eighteenth century predecessors lessened by his most unromantic conclusion regarding "Neptune":

> But if it should happen that commerce grow dull . . .
> Or pay me with farthings instead of a pound: . . .
> Why then, if the honest plain truth I may tell,
> I would clew up my topsails, and bid him farewell.

---

[34] "Letter to John Murray, Esq., on Bowles's Strictures on Pope."
[35] *Nature in English Poetry*, Chicago, 1909, p. 18.
[36] Pattee's Edition, III, 57-58.

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The measure of the difference between Freneau's attitude and that of the true romanticists will be apparent when one recalls Melville, to whom the sea "is the image of the ungraspable phantom of life." He loves to bask in "the sweet mystery" of "that serene ocean that rolled eastwards . . . a thousand leagues of blue; . . . here millions of mixed shades and shadows, drowned dreams, sonambulisms, reveries; all that we call lives and souls, lie dreaming, dreaming, still; tossing like slumberers in their beds; the ever-rolling waves but made so by their perpetual restlessness." Or let one recall that mystic, dreamy, inscrutable sea of Conrad to whom the sailor's calling "is never embraced for rational and practical grounds, because of the glamour of its romantic associations." One thinks of the grey-bearded Whitman on the beach "As the old mother sways her to and fro singing her husky song" looking out upon the "troops of white-manned racers racing to the goal," as he associates death with the breaking of the sea, the symbol of change. We are haunted by Swinburne's appeal to the sea-mew: "Ah, well were I forever, wouldst thou change lives with me," and by Masefield's "I must down to the seas again." And we even think, in contrast, of the clear-eyed young Dana, after rounding the cape, as he beheld, aloft, that vision of beauty:

> . . . there rose up from the water, supported only by the small black hull, a pyramid of canvas spreading out far beyond the hull, and towering up almost, as it seemed in the indistinct night air, to the clouds. The sea was still as an inland lake; the light trade wind was quietly and steadily breathing from astern; the dark blue sky was studded with the tropical stars . .

But Freneau is not only akin to the earlier eighteenth century in his view of the sea as merely a "commercial highway"; everywhere he records its "destructive power in storms,"—his sea is the "wild tempestuous deep," [37] and even when mildest it is "like rage or madness chain'd." [38] When "Good-natured Neptune" is

> With glassy surface, calm and clear:
> Be not deceived—'tis but a show,
> For many a corpse is laid below—[39]

[37] *Poems by Freneau*, Phil., 1795, p. 365.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 314.
[39] Pattee, I, 291.

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The sailor treads

> . . . a watery tomb of ocean-green
> And only one frail plank between! [40]

Doubtless Freneau's realistic attitude was born of bitter experience. No land-lubber, he wrote Bailey in 1788, describing how his vessel was "dismasted, thrown on her beam ends, shifted and ruined the bulk of her cargo, lost every sail, mast, spar, boat, and almost every article upon deck . . . in one of the hardest gales that ever blew upon this coast." [41] His favorite sea theme is the hurricane and shipwreck:

> The dangerous shoal, that breaks the wave
> In columns to the sky;
> The tempests black, that hourly rave,
> Portend all danger nigh:
> Sad are my dreams on ocean's verge!
> The Atlantic round me flows,
> Upon whose ancient angry surge
> No traveller finds repose! [42]

The Hurricane is a typical sea poem, recording the story of the barque, out of control, which "gropes her trackless way" over the "dark abyss," "while mountains burst on either side,"

> While death and darkness both surround,
> And tempests rage with lawless power.[43]

But if Freneau's sea is essentially either the utilitarian or dangerous sea of the eighteenth century, his powerfully graphic descriptions of its vaster and more terrifying aspects remind one of parallel passages in Byron [44] who thrilled with a mysterious kin-

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[40] Pattee, I, 292.

[41] Pattee, I, xliv.

[42] *Ibid.*, II, 394-5.

[43] *Ibid.*, II, 251. See also (Pattee, I, 118), the tempest Columbus weathered.

[44] See, for example, the descriptions of shipwrecks in *Childe Harold*, IV, stanza 179, and in *Don Juan*, II, stanzas 52 and 53. The forlorn mood of escape appears now and then, as in *Childe Harold*, III, stanza 13:

> Where roll'd the ocean, thereon was his home; . . .
> The desert, forest, cavern, breaker's foam,
> Were unto him companionship.

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ship in the presence of storm and tempest. To naturalism of this type in connection with patriotism, we owe Freneau's stirring odes, such as those *On the Death of Captain Biddle, Captain Jones' Invitation,* and *On the Memorable Victory.* His honest sailor's-talk of "studding sails," "sheets and tacks," "booms," and "top-sails" [45] prepared for the work of Cooper and Scott. And the occasional reference to the sea as a refuge and escape foreshadows the Ishmael-like Melville and Masefield. "Formerly, when I wrote poetry," Freneau confides, "most of those that attended to it would not allow my verses to be good. I gave credit to what I deemed the popular opinion, and made a safe retreat in due time, to the solitary wastes of Neptune." [46]

This discussion of Freneau's poems of the Indian and the sea illustrates a point which deserves strong emphasis: he is a *transition* poet; his work falls between two eras, the neo-classic and the romantic, and it partakes of the nature of each. He was partly of the past, partly of the future; like Milton's lion, he was always "pawing to get free his hinder parts." In one way, this hybrid character of his work makes it of peculiar interest in American literary history, for in time of poetic change the transition from the older themes and styles to the new may be best observed in poets of mediocre achievement, for they are not prevented by their genius and individuality from taking protective colouring, chameleon-like, against their changing age. In the case of Freneau the transitional character of his work helps to account for one thing which puzzles every student, and that is the absence of "that foolish consistency" which to the romantic Emerson was "the hobgoblin of little minds." Freneau is at once a bitter satirist and a sentimentalist who condemns his age for its indifference to "plaintive elegy" and "lyric ode." While he idolizes Dryden, Pope, and Addison—as we have seen—he leads the revolt against their themes and diction. An ardent student of the classics, he condemns them, in *The Student of the Dead Languages,* as "Latin lore and heathen Greek." He is the poet of the noble Redman as well as a scoffer at his vices. A humanitarian advocating universal sympathy, he often voices the most ferocious hatred. He can be

[45] Pattee, I, 293-94.
[46] *Ibid.,* I, xlv.

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as humorous as he can be melancholy. He is the poet of reason who laments the reign of reason and the absence of fancy. And finally, he is the poet of deistic optimism—"all, all is right"—as well as the poet of transience and death. His affiliation with the eighteenth century becomes more striking when one recalls that he outlived Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Hazlitt, that his death occurred in the same year as that of Scott and Goethe, and only two years before that of Coleridge and Lamb. When he died in 1832 Tennyson had already published his second volume of poems; and Carlyle published *Sartor Resartor* only two years later. In America Emerson had resigned his pastorate and was at work on *Nature,* Poe had written his minor poems, Hawthorne his first novel, and Whittier his *Legends of New England.* And yet there is no reference in Freneau's work to this great outburst of romantic literature. So far as his nascent romanticism is concerned, its parallels are to be found in the English precursors of the naturalistic movement, such as Parnell, Thomson, Young, Blair, Collins, Gray, the Wartons, Beattie, Cowper, Crabbe, Blake, and Burns. It is the old story of American literature being a generation behind English: our real romantic movement coincided with the Victorian period in England. If on his political side Freneau's closest parallel is Shelley, that is because both poets drew from eighteenth century naturalism their major doctrines such as faith in natural goodness, the perfectibility of man, the sovereignty of reason, universal benevolence, and the dependence of evil upon social institutions.

When we confront the question of the ultimate value of Freneau's work we are forced to admit, I think, that in the main he is important according to what Arnold called "the historic estimate" rather than according to "the real estimate"; he is valuable as a cross-section of an intensely significant period in our political and literary history rather than as an intrinsically wise man or great poet. Here, again, naturalism may lie at the root of his difficulty. His expansive sympathy, his enthusiasm for what has been called "the cluttered incoherency of the mundane spectacle," his temperamental idea that restraint was an evil, made it difficult for him to select, to discriminate between legitimate poetic themes and themes inherently unpoetical. In general, his chief aesthetic difficulty, I am inclined to think, is his inability to select and focus truly sig-

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nificant experience in such a way—the poet's way—as to spring the reader's imagination. Read such doggerel as *The New England Sabbath-Day Chace, Stanzas Occasioned by Lord Bellamont's and Lady Hay's and other Skeletons being Dug Up, Occasioned by a Legislation Bill proposing a Taxation upon Newspapers,* and you will see that he is too close to "the mundane spectacle," that the poems fail—not because the experience is sordid or common—but because there is so much of it, because it is not focused in such a way as to posses that symbolic quality which wings the poet's words with magic momentum. The poet, says Browning, must "do the thing that breeds the thought." And it is the absence of discipline,—usually absent in the naturalist,—which accounts for the absence of that focused vision, that arrangement of experience carefully planned to produce a desired effect, that order and harmony, which distinguishes art from every-day experience. A good poem is like a pebble dropped into the still waters of the imagination, wakening ripples there that circle and spread until they lap along the shores of infinity; but instead of using a single pebble, skillfully directed, Freneau assaults the waters of the imagination with a handful of pebbles, and the ripples that are awakened quickly clash and the result is mere confusion.

There is evidence that Freneau was himself half ashamed of the so-called satires which have led some scholars to see in him only "The Poet of the Revolution," and that he turned to this "applied poetry" only because it was demanded by the stern times which were indifferent toward the "pure poetry" toward which he had very definite aspirations. Since

> An age employ'd in pointing steel
> Can no poetic raptures feel,

he is forced to court the satiric muse, "The least engaging of them all," simply to "suit the humor of the age":

> She, only she, can please the taste.[47]

He laments that he is

> On these bleak climes by Fortune thrown
> Where rigid Reason reigns alone,
> Where flowery Fancy holds no sway,

[47] Pattee's edition, II, 333-34.

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> Nor magic forms around her play,
> Nor nature takes her summer hue
> Tell me, what has the muse to do? [48]

His true taste appears in the wistful lines,

> Expect not in these times of rude renown
> That verse like yours will have the chance to please:
> No taste for plaintive elegy is known,
> Nor lyric ode,—none care for things like these.[49]

Indeed, there are hints of a fairly versatile interest in "mere literature." As an undergraduate he wrote part of a novel called "Father Bombo's Pilgrimage to Mecca in Arabia." We are indebted to Professor Pattee for the recovery of part of a drama, *The Spy,* which reminds one of Mercy Warren's Revolutionary plays. Throughout his life, he was a staunch defender of the theatre.[50] And in the "Advertisement" to the edition of 1815 he expresses the hope that "the fine arts in general will, with the return of peace, find that share of encouragement, which they seem entitled to demand, in every nation that makes any pretensions to refinement and civilization."

As author of the Gothic *House of Night*—said to be "the first distinctly romantic note in America"—he appears in the "misty mid region of Weir" long before Coleridge or Poe. It is a lurid poem, centering about the death of Death, personified, a churchyard, and spectres.

> Dim burnt the lamp, and now the phantom Death
> Gave his last groans in horror and despair—
> 'All hell demands me hence,'—he said, and threw
> The red lamp hissing through the midnight air.

Seen in isolation, the poem seems unique indeed. In its proper contexture of international art it becomes part of the natural reaction against eighteenth century rationality, convention, restraint, and unimaginativeness—the manifestation in aesthetic terms of the spirit of independence then dominating politics. It is part of

[48] *Ibid.*, II, 333.

[49] *Ibid.*, III, 114.

[50] See "Lines on the Establishment of a New Theatre" (edition of 1815), "The Distrest Theatre" (Pattee, II, 404), "Prologue to a Theatrical Entertainment in Philadelphia" (Pattee, II, 108), and *The Spy* (Pattee, II, 39).

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the early romantic quest for the grotesque, the supernatural, the horrid, already manifested in Smollet's *Count Fathom* (1753), *Ossian* (1760), *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Percy's revival (1765) of the grim ballads, and the whole graveyard school—Parnell, Young, Blair, Gray, the Wartons, and others. It has been plausibly suggested that the horror of the so-called Gothic novel—the hero of which finally evolved into the Byronic hero—derives in part from the horror of Renaissance drama.[51] At any rate, as I have shown elsewhere [52] the conception of Death, personified and described with horrid concreteness, lying on his death-bed and calling for food and pills, alternately lamenting his crimes and raging upon his inexorable fate, has interesting parallels in mediæval allegory as illustrated, for example, in *The Induction* which Sir Thomas Sackville, co-author of the ghastly *Gorboduc,* contributed in 1563 to *The Mirror for Magistrates.* It is necessary only to mention the later vogue of Gothic imaginings and horror in *Vathek* (1784), *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), *Caleb Williams* (1794), Shelley's *Zaztrozzi* (1810), Mrs. Shelley's masterly *Frankenstein* (1818), or in the American *Wieland* (1798) and *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1840). Even before *The House of Night* Freneau had amused himself in one of *The Pictures of Columbus* with the sweet spectacle of an enchantress who surrounds herself with snakes, toads, winding sheets, dead men's bones, and ghosts.[53] But the lurid element in *The House of Night*

[51] By Clara F. McIntyre, *PMLA*, Dec., 1921.

[52] *Studies in Philology*, XXII, 29 ff.

[53] The Gothic trend in literature has interesting parallels in other arts, such as painting and architecture. Washington Allston's paintings included "Dead Men Revived by Touching Elisha's Bones" (1811), "Belshazzar's Feast, or the Hand Writing on the Wall," "Jacob's Dream" (1817), "Saul and the Witch of Endor" (1831), and "Spalatro's Vision of the Bloody Hand" (1831). Rembrandt Peal painted the "Ascent of Elijah" (1812) and the "Court of Death" in 1820. John Singleton Copley's "Resurrection" was created somewhat earlier. Dunlap's "Death on a Pale Horse" (1825) is an imitation of a similar painting by Benjamin West. A correlated rebellion against correctness, symmetry, and formality appeared in architecture both in England and America. About the middle of the eighteenth century in England the classical style of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren had to compete with the growing taste for Gothic castles and abbeys, as witnessed in Walpole's "Gingerbread Castle at Strawberry Hill" and Beckford's gloomy model of the "Hall of Eblis"

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should not blind us to the fact that it belongs to the transitional art of the eighteenth century, that it is a unique poem in Freneau's work, and that—dealing as it does with the death of Death—it is a graveyard poem, even equipped, like Gray's *Elegy,* with an epitaph. The poem belongs to Freneau's rather extensive undertaker's anthology, and is built around the theme he treats most poetically—the theme of transience.

> Hills sink to plains, and man returns to dust,
> That dust supports a reptile or a flower;
> Each changeful atom by some other nurs'd,
> Takes some new form, to perish in an hour.

IV

It remains to demonstrate that this theme—transience—was determined, mainly at least, by Freneau's naturalistic faith. His deistic creed deified cold, impersonal natural law, inviolable and immutable, and left no place for the conception of personal immortality. A lifelong student and translator of Lucretius, the poet tried bravely to rationalize death:

> When nature fails, the man exists no more,
> And death is nothing but an empty name.[54]

And he expects the Indian in *The American Village* to find solace in the Lucretian logic,

> . . . . if return'd to dread nihility,
> You'll still be happy, for you will not be.[55]

But somehow, rational as this sort of thing is, the denial of a personal immortality does not satisfy the emotional hunger of the

with its three hundred foot tower at Fonthill. These were chapters in romanticism written in wood and mortar. Greek pediments, the classic orders, and symmetry gave way to towers, pinnacles, pointed arches, and all sorts of irregularity. In America, Jefferson proposed some Gothic models as early as 1771, but the actual revival began in 1800 when a Gothic country house was built near Philadelphia. In 1807 a Gothic chapel appeared in Baltimore, and after 1812 church architecture became increasingly Gothic. (See the interesting article by Oral Coad, "Gothic Elements in American Literature before 1835," Vol. 24, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*)

[54] Pattee's edition, I, 246.

[55] *Ibid.*, III, 392.

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poet: he becomes obsessed with the sense of inexorable evanescence, transience, and mortality. Even the youthful Wordsworth, proudly vowing to recognize nothing beyond "nature and the language of the sense," could not refrain from imagining realistically the fate of his beloved,

> Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,
> With rocks, and stones, and trees,

and we recall that he later acknowledged "the faith that looks through death." Do what he will, Freneau is haunted by *Reflections on the Mutability of Things:*

> The time is approaching, deny it who may,
> The days are not very remote,
> When the pageant that glitter'd for many a day,
> On the stream of oblivion will float.[56]

But how, you ask impatiently, is the theme of transience connected with naturalism? With the progressive decline of faith in the reality of the world of spirit, which accompanied deism, and with the progressive identification of God and nature, there remained nothing immutable and changeless above the stream of sensation, and men became doubly conscious of the truth that sensuous life is fleeting. The objects of thought are eternal, but those of sense and emotion are gone almost before we are conscious of their presence. Nature is the prey of eternal change.

> The mountains waste, the shores decay,
> Once purling streams are dead and dry—
> 'Twas Nature's work—'tis Nature's play,
> And Nature says, that all must die.[57]

Naturalism, then, led Freneau to be appalled at the fugacity of all that he loved. He resembles the Cavalier Herrick and Waller in whom the Renaissance devotion to sensuous beauty and pleasure also inspired the dread of transience and of the time when "all lies drowned with us in endless night." Freneau is unable to find that peace which the mystic Vaughan found in his "retreat" from the transient "heaven in sense" to the "way, which from this dead and dark abode Leads up to God," for to him God is merged

[56] Pattee's edition, III, 215.
[57] *Ibid.*, II, 105.

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in "sense," and sense is fleeting. Examine his finest poems, such as *The Wild Honey Suckle, The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi, The Indian Burying Ground, Eutaw Springs, The Pyramids of Egypt, Elegiac Stanzas, On a Honey-Bee, The House of Night, The Seasons Moralized, On Retirement, The Vanity of Existence, On the Vicissitudes of Things, The Man of Ninety, To an Old Man, The Deserted Farmhouse, May to April,* and *The Brook of the Valley.* In all, as a common denominator, you will find the theme of mutability, transience, or death.

If naturalism, as I have suggested, sometimes led Freneau to forego the discipline and selection necessary in the creation of great poetry, in the case of the theme of transience naturalism presented him with an intrinsically poetical subject, of universal interest, possessing "the grandeur of generality," as well as an almost ready-made unity. Here was just the requisite emotion to leaven his rather cold rationalism; and above all, as the inevitable termination of his naturalistic faith, the doctrine of transience was a subject which commanded all his sincere intensity. Upon it he could focus the poetic heritage of the eighteenth century. Since in that century "the proper study of mankind is man," the graveyard school dealt mainly with the doubtful doom of human kind, with the inevitable sadness of life and the sureness of death. "The paths of glory lead but to the grave." And into this category fall many of Freneau's poems, of which *The Seasons Moralized* is typical:

> Winter, alas! shall Spring restore,
> But youth returns to man no more.

But if naturalism caused the more intense consciousness of universal transience, it also furnished him with means of rendering the otherwise general, abstract, and unlocalized theme truly poetical. Freneau not only broods on the mortality of man in the neoclassic manner; he also broods on the mortality of nature in the romantic manner. Toward the Wild Honey Suckle he is as sympathetic as Gray was toward humanity:

> Smit with those charms that must decay,
> I grieve to see your future doom;
> They died—nor were those flowers more gay,—
> The flowers that did in Eden bloom:
> Unpitying frosts and Autumn's power
> Shall leave no vestige of this flower.

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And everywhere in his nature-poems we find that haunting sense of the frailty and evanescence of all beautiful things. If in his poems of freedom Freneau foreshadows the destructive side of Shelley's ethereal hope for the perfection of the race, when man shall be

> Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man
> Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,
> Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
> Over himself; just, gentle, wise,

the theme of his most flawless poems of romantic fancy foreshadows the lyric lament of John Keats for the transient loveliness of a sensuous world,

> Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
> Or new Love pine at them beyond tomorrow.

The University of Wisconsin.

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EMERSON'S BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES FOR "SWEDENBORG"[1]

By Clarence Paul Hotson

As must be evident to every reader of *Representative Men,* Ralph Waldo Emerson used for his *Swedenborg; or, the Mystic,* some biographical source or sources to which he gave no reference. My study of Emerson's reaction to Swedenborg has at length led me, as I believe, to these sources, and also to their significance as material for the investigation of Emerson's intellectual processes and literary methods.

Emerson's earliest coupling of "biography" and "Swedenborg" occurs in his *Journal* for January 7, 1835:

> How precisely parallel are the biographies of religious enthusiasts—Swedenborg, Guyon, Fox, Luther, and perhaps Boehmen. Each owes all to the discovery that God must be sought within, not without. (J. III, 432.)

This comment indicates that Emerson had in mind perhaps some particular biography of Swedenborg. According to C. T. Odhner's *Annals of the New Church,*[2] the first notable biography of Swedenborg, Nathaniel Hobart's, appeared in 1831.[3] The *Annals* further led me to an advance notice of this work which appeared in the *New Jerusalem Magazine,*[4] V, 37, for September, 1831. This advance notice, I discovered, included a table of the book's contents. Of this one item at once caught my eye:

> *Unfounded Tale Respecting the Skull of Swedenborg, and Its Refutation.*

This item recalled to my memory an entry in Emerson's *Journal* for October 20, 1837:

> In our times, a good example was set by the members of the New Jerusalem Church in London. Somebody, at great pains, violated the tomb of

[1] The author acknowledges the courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company in permitting the use of certain copyrighted matter.

[2] I, 1688-1850, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pa., 1904. A valuable guide to materials for Swedenborgian history.

[3] Boston, Allen & Goddard, 188 pages.

[4] The New Church or Swedenborgian organ, Boston, 1827-1872.

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Swedenborg and brought away the skull from the body. It was then offered at a great price to his disciples. Not one of them cared to look at it. (J. IV, 333.)

The *Index to the New Jerusalem Magazine*[5] showed that nowhere, so far as I could find, did that *Magazine* either narrate or refute the story of this theft of Swedenborg's skull. One possibility was therefore excluded. I noticed, however, that a first draft of Hobart's *Life of Swedenborg* had appeared serially in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for 1828 and 1829. These successive articles contained, I found, many probable sources for Emerson's biographical statements in *Swedenborg;* but none of them mentioned the skull incident. As the advance notice indicated that Appendix IX, of Hobart's biography, 1831, related this affair, I must accordingly obtain a copy of this edition, not only to learn if Emerson got his skull story from it (and there seemed to be no other probability), but also to discover whether he obtained his information about Swedenborg's life from this book, from the *Magazine,* or from some other source.[6]

A glance at Appendix IX, 160-163, in the first or 1831 edition, convinced me that I had found Emerson's authority for his *Journal* comment about Swedenborg's skull. I thought it probable that Emerson, having assuredly read at least that part of this edition, read also much more of it, and later, when he came to write his *Mystic* lecture, used it as his main biographic source. For although Emerson probably read some at least of Hobart's biographical articles as they appeared each month in the *New Jerusalem Magazine,* 1828-29, he would be little likely to preserve his copies, or, fifteen or eighteen years after they first appeared, to seek information from them in preference to consulting a compact and easily available book. The following *Journal* note, August 18, 1832, supports this inference, and also strengthens the idea that Emerson read Hobart's biography shortly after its first appearance:

[5] New Church Board of Publications, New York, 1882.

[6] The first edition of Hobart's *Life of Swedenborg* proved to be a scarce book. The collection of Swedenborgiana of the Academy of the New Church Library at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, is perhaps the most complete in the whole world. Through their courtesy I at length obtained the loan of a copy. The second edition, published in 1845 (four or five years before *Representative Men* appeared) might conceivably be one of Emerson's sources. I therefore examined it also.

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To be genuine. . . . The difficulty increases with the gifts of the individual. A plough-boy can be, but a minister, an orator, an ingenious thinker how hardly! . . . Swedenborg was. 'My writings will be found,' he said, 'another self.' (J. II, 506-7.)

In his series of *Magazine* articles, and also in the first edition of his biography of Swedenborg, Hobart printed a translation of a letter which he said Swedenborg had in 1769 [7] written to the King of Sweden. This letter protested against the confiscation for alleged heresy of fifty copies of one of his works, which he had published at Amsterdam, and imported into Sweden. In his protest Swedenborg wrote that two of his disciples, Doctors Beyer and Rosen, had become no less than himself the objects of cruel persecutions, arising from the enmity of a bishop and a dean, and added:

I may say the same of my writings, which I regard as another self. (M. I, 365; *1831*, 132.)

Emerson probably read the recent book rather than the *Magazine* article, which had appeared in August, 1828, or four years before he wrote this *Journal* note. That Emerson read Swedenborg's letter of protest seems probable also in view of his statement in the *Mystic* lecture:

The clergy interfered a little with the importation and publication of his religious works, but he seems to have kept the friendship of men in power. (*Centenary*, IV, 100-101.)

The most notable instance of interference with Swedenborg's books is that just mentioned.

That Emerson read the 1831 edition of Hobart's biography seems probable in view of the following note in the *Journal* for December 18, 1841:

Leibnitz predicted the Zoöphytes; Kant predicted the asteroids; Newton the decomposition of the diamond; Swedenborg, Uranus. (J. VI, 143.)

[7] According to the best authority, Alfred E. Stroh's *Chronological List*, the date should be May 25, 1770. For this and several other items of information I am indebted to Reverend Frederic R. Crownfield, instructor in church history at the New-Church Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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This at once suggests a passage in *Swedenborg; or, the Mystic:*

> It seems that he . . . anticipated, in astronomy, the discovery of the seventh planet,—but, unhappily, not also of the eighth. (*Centenary*, IV, 102.)

In an account of Swedenborg's *Opera Philosophica* (1734), Hobart wrote:

> He (Swedenborg) alleges that there were seven planets created from the sun at the same time; he has eight or ten drawings illustrative of the subject, in all of which seven planets are laid down. This work was published more than forty years before the discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel. (*1831*, 18-19; *1845*, 25; cf. M. I, 258-9.)

And in his comment on Swedenborg's *De Cultu et Amore Dei* (*The Worship and Love of God*), 1744, Hobart said:

> In explaining the subject of creation the principle maintained by him, is, that seven planets were created at the same time from the sun of our solar system. It is to be observed that this book was published long before the actual discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel. (*1831*, 32; *1845*, 38; cf. M. I, 265.)

Here, I infer, are the sources of Emerson's two comments. This inference reinforces the opinion that Emerson's main source was the 1831 edition; for the date of the *Journal* note, 1841, entirely excludes the 1845 revision, and makes highly improbable any influence of the 1828-29 *Magazine* articles.

This evidence establishes a strong presumption for the 1831 edition as an important source, and justifies close comparison of Emerson's biographical statements with parallels in Hobart's biography.

Emerson's mention of Swedenborg's birth (*Centenary*, IV, 98), in 1688, at Stockholm, Sweden, shows at most that he might have derived his data from Hobart. Inconclusive also is the following:

> His youth and training could not fail to be extraordinary. Such a boy could not whistle or dance, but goes grubbing into mines and mountains, prying into chemistry and optics, physiology, mathematics, and astronomy, to find images fit for the measure of his versatile and capacious brain. (*Centenary*, IV, 99.)

This merely suggests a comparison with Hobart's words:

> His youth was marked by an uncommon assiduity and application in the study of philosophy, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, and anatomy, together with the Eastern and European languages. (M. I, 227; *1831*, 8; *1845*, 10.)

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Whereas Hobart is commonplace and prosaic, Emerson is pictorial and poetic.

He was a scholar from a child, and was educated at Upsala. (*Centenary*, IV, 99.)

Hobart had written:

He was educated principally at the University of Upsala. Great care is said to have been bestowed by his father on his early education. (*1831*, 8; *1845*, 10.)

The corresponding passage in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* has "Upsal" instead of "Upsala." (M. I, 227.) This difference also hints that Emerson used the book, not the magazine. The following, however, is a more convincing parallel:

At the age of twenty-eight, he was made Assessor of the Board of Mines by Charles XII. (*Centenary*, IV, 99.)

In 1716, at the age of twenty-eight years, he was appointed by Charles XII. Assessor Extraordinary of his Board of Mines. (M. I, 228; *1831*, 10; *1845*, 11.)

The "Extraordinary" meant that until appointed "Ordinary" Assessor, young Swedenborg served without salary. This fact Hobart did not explain. Though Emerson's abridgement of Hobart in the main bettered the style, on this occasion his omission of the modifier led to a misstatement, slight but significant. Swedenborg became "Ordinary" Assessor July 15, 1724, at 800 dalers a year. Not until 1730 did he receive the full salary of 1200 dalers.[8] The nature of his first appointment explains why he did not perform his duties until 1722, but obtained permission to travel:

In 1716, he left home for four years and visited the universities of England, Holland, France, and Germany.... In 1721, he journeyed over Europe to examine mines and smelting works. (*Centenary*, IV, 99.)

From 1716 to 1720, Swedenborg spent much of his time in the universities in England, Holland, France, and Germany. In 1721, he made various journies in different parts of Europe to examine the principal mines and smelting-works. (*1831*, 10.)

Note the condensation of the stylist. In the *New Jerusalem*

[8] G. Trobridge, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, New-Church Press, New York, 1918, 28, 29, 35; *New Church Life*, October, 1896, 152, 153; R. L. Tafel, *Documents Concerning Swedenborg*, London, 1877, I, 466.

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Magazine, April, 1828, the passage which corresponds to the second sentence reads:

> In 1721, he undertook a second journey into foreign countries to examine their mines and smelting-works, particularly those of Saxony and the Hartz. (M. I, 228.)

This variation supplies a third reason against supposing the *Magazine* to be Emerson's source.

The 1845 edition reads "From 1715 to 1720" and omits the comma after "1721." (*1845,* 12.) These differences though slight are sufficient to show that Emerson used the 1831 edition.

Between the two sentences he condensed from Hobart, Emerson inserted one the phrasing of which shows that its source is Hobart's reprint, in English translation, of the *Eulogium on Emanuel Swedenborg;* "Pronounced in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, in the name of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, October 7, 1772, by M. Samuel Sandel,[9] Counsellor of the Royal Board of Mines," etc.:

He performed a notable feat of engineering in 1718, at the siege of Frederikshald (first edition has *Fredericshall*), by hauling two galleys, five boats, and a sloop, some fourteen English miles overland, for the royal service. (*Centenary,* IV, 99.)	'Swedenborg executed a work of the greatest importance, during the siege of Frederickshall, in 1718. He contrived to transport over valleys and mountains, by the help of machines of his own invention, two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, from Stromstadt to Iderfjol, which divides Sweden from Norway towards the south; that is to say, the distance of two miles and a half. (*Footnote:* Equal to about fourteen English miles.) By this operation, the king found himself in a situation to carry on his plans; for under the cover of these galleys and boats, he transported on pontoons his heavy artillery, which it would have been impossible to have conveyed by land, under the very walls of Frederickshall.' (M. II, 41-42; *1831,* 108; *1845,* 96.)

[9] The correct form of his name is Sandels. Though his family name was Sandel, he added the "s" on being ennobled in 1772. (Tafel, *Documents,* I, 613.)

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This comparison shows that Emerson could both borrow freely and condense cleverly.

He published, in 1716, his Daedalus Hyperboreus. (*Centenary*, IV, 99.)	In 1716 Swedberg commenced his 'Daedalus Hyperboreus.'[10] (M. XVI, 10.)

Emerson's source for this statement was an article by J. J. G. Wilkinson in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for September, 1842. The corresponding 1828-29 *Magazine* passage (M. I, 229) does not give the date of this work. This fact tends to exclude these articles as the source.

In 1743, when he was fifty-four years old, what is called his illumination began. (*Centenary*, IV, 99-100.)	This work . . . was written by Swedenborg previous to his illumination, which took place in 1743. (*1831*, 32.) In 1743, Swedenborg, at the age of 54, relinquished his philosophical pursuits. (*1831*, 33.)

The fact that the second edition, 1845, in both places which correspond to those quoted above (*1845*, 38, 39), gives the date of Swedenborg's illumination as 1745, indicates that Emerson followed the first edition, and not the other.

An allusion in *Essays, First Series* (1841) to "the illumination of Swedenborg" (*Centenary*, II, 281-2) corroborates this view. Again the date, 1841, is too early for the 1845 edition to be the source, and too late for the *Magazine* articles to be read or remembered.

In his next sentences Emerson introduced an instructive inaccuracy:

He ceased to publish any more scientific books, withdrew from his practical labors, and devoted himself to the writing and publication of his voluminous theological works, which were printed at his own expense, or at that of the Duke of Brunswick or other prince, at Dresden, Leipsic, London, or Amsterdam. (*Centenary*, IV, 100.)

The Duke of Brunswick, however, did not, as a matter of fact, help to publish any of Swedenborg's theological works. Sweden-

[10] Apparently the title *Daedalus Hyperboreus* made a peculiar appeal to Emerson, for he named it alone from the list of Swedenborg's earlier scientific works, all of which Hobart had mentioned by title: *1831*, 11-13; *1845*, 13-14.

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borg published them all at his own expense. Emerson probably combined confusedly the information Hobart conveyed in two or more passages of his book:

In 1721, he made various journies in different parts of Europe. . . . He was particularly noticed, at this time, by the Duke of Brunswick, who did much to facilitate his travels, and afterwards published, at his own expense, Swedenborg's Opera Philosophica. (M. I, 228; *1831*, 10; *1845*, 12.)

The *Opera Philosophica* are among Swedenborg's scientific or technologic, not among his theological works:

The Philosophical and Mineral works (Opera Philosophica et Mineralia) were published at Dresden and Leipsic, in 1734. . . . It was published in very elegant style at the expense of the Duke of Brunswick, at whose court Swedenborg tarried for some time, receiving many marks of favor. (*1831*, 15-16; *1845*, 22.)

Swedenborg published his *Opera Philosophica*, then, in Dresden and Leipsic, 1734, at the Duke of Brunswick's expense, but his theological works in London and Amsterdam, at his own expense.

The corresponding passage in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, I, 257, does not mention Dresden and Leipsic. This difference also indicates that Emerson used the book.

Later, he resigned his office of Assessor: the salary attached to this office continued to be paid to him during his life. (*Centenary*, IV, 100.)

He retained his office as Assessor of the Metallic College until 1747, when he resigned: the salary annexed to the office, was, however, continued to him during life. (*1831*, 33; *1845*, 39.)

As a matter of fact, however, Swedenborg retained, after his retirement, only half his regular salary.[11] Hobart followed too literally a statement Swedenborg made in a letter to Reverend Thomas Hartley, in 1769:

I had many conversations with Charles XII, King of Sweden, who greatly favoured me, and the same year offered me an assessorship in the College of Mines, which office I filled until the year 1747, when I resigned it, retaining, however, the official salary during my life.[12] (Tafel, *Documents*, I, 7; cf. Hobart, *1831*, 117.)

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[11] Tafel, R. L., *Documents Concerning Swedenborg*, I, 466.

[12] This is Tafel's translation. Hobart gives the Latin:

"Anno 1716 et postea cum Carolo XII Rege Sueciae saepe loquutus sum, qui magnopere mihi favit, et eo Anno insignivit me munere Assessoris in

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This statement of Swedenborg's was evidently in Emerson's mind when he wrote:

> His duties had brought him into intimate acquaintance with King Charles XII, by whom he was much consulted and honored. The like favor was continued to him by his successor. (*Centenary*, IV, 100.)

The second sentence shows that Emerson probably read, also in Hobart's version of Swedenborg's letter to Dr. Hartley, the account by Swedenborg of the favor shown him both by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, who ennobled him in 1719, and by the reigning King and Queen, who, among other favors, once invited him to dinner: an honor usually reserved to the greatest. (*1831*, 117, 118; 120, 121; *1845*, 19, 20.)

The following parallel between Emerson's lecture and Hobart's biography is the more striking because of a mistake they have in common.

> At the Diet of 1751, Count Hopken says, the most solid memorials on finance were from his pen. (*Centenary*, IV, 100.)

> The most solid memorials, and best penned, at the diet of 1751, on matters of finance, were presented by him.[13] (M. II, 2; *1831*, 15; *1845*, 17.)

Collegio metallico, quo postea functus sum usque ad Annum 1747; quo Anno me illo abdicavi, retinendo usque salarium istius muneris ad finem vitae meae." (*1831*, 120.)

Swedenborg probably meant to say that he retained the salary customarily retained upon retirement in such cases; or he may not have been scrupulously accurate upon such a point, considering it (as his derogatory *istius* seems to show) as too unimportant when compared with his prophetic mission, for he said in the same letter:

"Sed recensita illa respicio sicut parvi momenti respective." (*1831*, 121.)

This may explain why he was not studious of accuracy in such a matter, and why Hobart, and through him Emerson, received a wrong impression from his off-hand statement.

[13] Hobart quoted this from a letter which Count Höpken, prime minister of Sweden, wrote to a friend, General Tuxen (*1845*, 15).

Emerson's use of the date 1751 is not sanctioned by J. J. G. Wilkinson's article reprinted in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, which, as I shall show presently, was likewise one of Emerson's sources:

He still however took part in the proceedings of the Diet, and in that of 1761 he is stated by Count Höpken to have presented the best memorial on the subject of finance. (M. XVI, 16.)

Emerson apparently thought Hobart's authority was higher, and in so thinking guessed wrong.

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According to R. L. Tafel's *Documents Concerning Swedenborg*, London, 1877, II, 408, the date should be 1761, not 1751. Hobart's date is either a mistake or a misprint. Emerson's use of the same date is, therefore, strong evidence of his dependence upon Hobart.

> In Sweden he appears to have attracted a marked regard. His rare science and practical skill, and the added fame of second sight and extraordinary religious knowledge and gifts, drew to him queens, nobles, clergy, shipmasters, and people about the ports through which he was wont to pass in his many voyages. (*Centenary*, IV, 100.)

Thus Emerson summarized an entire chapter (V in *1831*, IV in *1845*), wherein Hobart presented much testimony regarding several extraordinary incidents in Swedenborg's life, incidents which evinced apparently supernatural knowledge and gifts. The inference that Emerson read this chapter explains also a passage in *Nature*, his first published work (1836), in which he mentioned as occasional examples, amid our thick darkness, of a better light, several instances of "the action of man upon Nature with his entire force, with reason as well as understanding," and among others:

> The miracles of enthusiasm, as those reported of Swedenborg. (*Centenary*, I, 73.)

This quotation from *Nature* tends to show that Emerson read the 1831 edition of Hobart's biography.

The following passage in *Swedenborg* indicates that Emerson read Hobart's book:

> This man . . . no doubt led the most real life of any man then in the world; and now, when the royal and ducal Frederics, Christians and Brunswicks of that day have slid into oblivion, he begins to spread himself into the minds of thousands. (*Centenary*, IV, 98.)

Hobart quoted in his chapter VI, *1831*, on *Swedenborg's Friends*, a letter in which General Tuxen mentioned in connection with Swedenborg the Danish kings Christian VI (*1831*, 94, 101) and Frederick V (98, 101), and the duchess of Brunswick (96). These coincidences again point to Hobart's *Life* as Emerson's source.

The following statement Emerson might have found in Sandels' *Eulogium*, from which he had taken the account of Swedenborg's transportation of ships overland. He might also have taken it from an article "*Swedenborg*," *and* "*Swedenborgians*" which

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James John Garth Wilkinson (1812-1899), of London, contributed to the *Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.*[14] Emerson probably read this article first as reprinted in the *New Jerusalem Magazine,* XVI, 9-22, for September, 1842,[15] though, of course, he might later have consulted it in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* itself. The statement reads:

He was never married. (*Centenary,* IV, 101.)	Swedenborg was never married. (M. XVI, 20.)

Hobart's reprint of Sandels' *Eulogium* reads at this point:

'Swedenborg . . . was never married.' (M. II, 44; *1831,* 112; *1845,* 102.)

Another remark Emerson took, apparently, from some statements of Dr. Hartley's, which Hobart printed:

He had great modesty and gentleness of bearing. (*Centenary,* IV, 101.)	Swedenborg was a man of uncommon humility. (M. I, 353-4; *1831,* 91; *1845,* 77.)

Worthy of consideration are the parallels following:

His habits were simple; he lived on bread, milk and vegetables. (*Centenary,* IV, 101.)	It was during the latter period of his life that he boarded with Mr. Shearsmith. At that time he seldom took any animal food, but lived principally on milk and vegetables, taking tea, and sometimes coffee; together with gingerbread, which he would frequently bring home with him, and share with the children. (M. II, 39; *1831,* 104; *1845,* 90.)
He is described, when in London, as a man of quiet, clerical habit, not averse to tea and coffee, and kind to children. (*Centenary,* IV, 101.)	

Emerson's source for the "bread" in his first sentence is a paragraph Hobart quoted from a memoir of Mr. William Cookworthy. This paragraph comments on Swedenborg's remarkable innocence

[14] London, Charles Knight and Co., 22, Ludgate Street: 1842. Volume XXIII: Stearic Acid—Tagus.

[15] For the timely loan of this volume of the *New Jerusalem Magazine* I am indebted to the courtesy of the Academy of the New Church Library, Bryn Athyn, Pa. That Emerson was regularly reading the *New Jerusalem Magazine* at this time is probable from the evidence which his *Journals,* VI, 183, for April 3, 1842, and VI, 196, for April 10-13, 1842, offer, when compared with the *New Jerusalem Magazine* (M. XV, 171, 245) for January and for March, 1842, respectively.

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and simplicity, relating how, when invited to dine with his friends, he politely excused himself, adding that his dinner was already prepared. This dinner proved to be a simple meal of bread and milk. (*1831,* 93; *1845,* 80.)

In only one instance is the phrasing of Hobart's articles in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for 1828-29 closer to Emerson's than is that of the corresponding passages in Hobart's book: *1831,* 39, 43; *1845,* 46, 50. This does not necessarily mean, however, that even in this instance Emerson read the 1828 article, for a close parallel occurs also in Wilkinson's article reprinted in the *Magazine* for September, 1842:

He lived in a house situated in a large garden. (*Centenary,* IV, 101.)	Adjoining his house was a large garden. (M. I, 291, June, 1828.)

Wilkinson's article has:

When he was at home he had a house in the environs of Stockholm, with a large garden. (M. XVI, 16.)

Emerson, of course, was far more likely to take a phrase from a *Magazine* article which came out in 1842, than to go back to an old number for 1828.

The influence of Wilkinson's article appears also in Emerson's statement:

He ceased to publish any more scientific books, withdrew from his practical labors and devoted himself to the writing and publication of his voluminous theological works. (*Centenary,* IV, 100.)

This evidently echoes Wilkinson's words in his article:

From this period, Swedenborg entirely forsook the pursuit of science, nor does he once allude, in his works on theology, to his former scientific labors. . . . He was now either actively engaged in writing his theological works, or was travelling in foreign countries to publish them. (M. XVI, 16.)

The words "theological works," "publish," "labors," and "writing," occur in both passages, which also deal with the same period of Swedenborg's life. This similarity suggests that Emerson condensed Wilkinson's statement, greatly improving upon his source, as usual, in rhetorical finish.

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In his lecture, as already quoted, Emerson said:

> The clergy interfered a little with the importation and publication of his religious works, but he seems to have kept the friendship of men in power. (*Centenary*, IV, 100-101.)

This passage apparently owes something to Wilkinson's article:

> During his later years, Bishop Filenius and Dr. Ekebon instigated a prosecution against him in the consistory of Göttenburg, whence it was transferred to the diet. . . . Swedenborg came out of these trials with safety, unaccused by the diet, and protected by the king. (M. XVI, 17.)

Still more suggestive is the following comparison, which indicates that Emerson probably read Wilkinson's article:

> He . . . died at London, March 29, 1772, of apoplexy, in his eighty-fifth year. (*Centenary*, IV, 101.)

> Swedenborg died at London, in Great Bath Street, Coldbath Fields, on the 29th of March, 1772, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. (M. XVI, 17.)

It is easy to see why Emerson condensed Wilkinson's statement as he evidently did: but where did he get the "apoplexy?" This allusion indicates that he must also have read Sandels' *Eulogium* in Hobart's biography:

> During his last residence in London, on the 24th of December, last year, he had an attack of apoplexy; and, nature demanding her rights, he died on the 29th of March in the present year (1772), in the eighty-fifth year of his age. (M. II, 44; *1831*, 112; *1845*, 103.)

Careful comparison of these passages will show Wilkinson's debt to Sandels *via* Hobart, and Emerson's debt both to Wilkinson and to Sandels *via* Hobart.

> He wore a sword when in full velvet dress, and, whenever he walked out, carried a gold-headed cane.[16] (*Centenary*, IV, 101.)

> When full dressed, he wore his clothes all of velvet, with a cocked hat, and a sword in a silver scabbard. He wore spectacles, and whenever he walked out he carried a golden-headed cane. (M. II, 39; *1831*, 104; *1845*, 90.)

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[16] The gold-headed cane seems especially to have struck Emerson's fancy, for he referred to it in his *Journal* for October 27, 1845:

"Great king is King Swedenborg. I will not deny him his matchless

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Hobart's reference to that cane reappears in the following sentence of the lecture:

> He goes up and down the world of men, a modern Rhadamanthus in gold-headed cane and peruke.[17] (*Centenary*, IV, 142.)

These various passages indicate the interest Emerson showed in Hobart's book, and the use he subsequently made of what he learned from it. Hobart's influence is evident also in Emerson's remarks on Swedenborg's scientific and philosophic works:

> No one man is perhaps able to judge of the merits of his works on so many subjects. One is glad to learn that his books on mines and metals are held in the highest esteem by those who understand these matters. (*Centenary*, IV, 101-102.)

This probably refers to Hobart's comment on the second and third volumes of Swedenborg's *Opera Philosophica* (1734), which deal with minerals and metallurgy: the second with iron, the third with copper and brass. Hobart noted that a part of the second volume had been translated into French. (M. I, 259; *1831*, 20; *1845*, 26.) He quoted Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in his translation of Cramer's *Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals*,[18] as saying:

> For the sake of such as understand Latin, we must not pass by that magnificent and laborious work of Emanuel Swedenborgius, entitled, Principia Rerum Naturalium, &c., Dresdae et Lipsiae, 1734, in three tomes, in folio: in the second and third tomes of which he has given the best accounts, not only of the methods and newest improvements in metallic works in all places beyond the seas, but also of those in England and our colonies in America, with draughts of the furnaces and instruments employed. It is to be wished we had extracts of this work in English. (M. I, 259; *1831*, 20-21; *1845*, 27.)

In one long sentence in *Swedenborg*, Emerson summed up numerous assertions of Hobart:

> length and breadth. Such a world of mathematics, metallurgy, astronomy, anatomy, ecclesiastic history, theology, demonology, ouranology, love, fear, form, terror, law, all to come out of that quiet sleepy old gentleman with the gold-headed cane, lodging at Mr. Shearsmith's!" (J. VII, 123-124.)

[17] The "peruke" shows that Emerson was thinking of the portrait to which he had referred immediately after his first mention in the lecture of the gold-headed cane:

> "There is a common portrait of him in antique coat and wig." (*Centenary*, IV, 101.)

[18] Second edition, London, 1764, p. 13.

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It seems that he anticipated much science of the nineteenth century: . . . anticipated . . . in magnetism, some important experiments and conclusions of later students; in chemistry, the atomic theory; in anatomy, the discoveries of Schlichting, Monro, and Wilson. (*Centenary*, IV, 102.)

As I shall show, the only one of these quoted assertions which Emerson did not get from Hobart's biography is the statement that Swedenborg, in chemistry, had anticipated the atomic theory. That statement, which he could not possibly have found in Hobart, points directly to J. J. Garth Wilkinson's article in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, XXIII, 39.[19] Speaking of Swedenborg's *Prodromus Principiorum*, Wilkinson said:

He (Swedenborg) anticipated Dr. Wollaston's suggestion of the spheroidal composition of crystals, as well as the atomic theory of Dalton, and even some of its details. (M. XVI, 14.)

Emerson, then, owed to Wilkinson's article his statement that Swedenborg anticipated the atomic theory. All the rest of Emerson's long sentence indicates Hobart's book as its source:

It seems that he anticipated much science of the nineteenth century. (*Centenary*, IV, 102.)

This generalizes what Hobart wrote about the *Opera Philosophica*, volume I:

It is believed that in this work he made many discoveries in philosophy, which, owing to the little attention paid to his writings, have not been accredited to him. We have testimony to this effect from a philosopher of reputation in our own country. (*1831*, 19; *1845*, 25.)

This philosopher (or scientist) is R. M. Patterson, "late professor of the University of Pennsylvania," from whose letter to Dr. Edwin A. Atlee of Philadelphia, respecting the *Principia*, Hobart quoted, among other things, as follows:

'The air of mysticism which is generally thought to pervade Baron Swedenborg's ethical and theological writings, has prevented philosophers from paying that attention to his physical productions, of which I now see that they are worthy. Many of the experiments and observations on magnetism, presented in this work, *are believed to be of much more modern date, and are unjustly ascribed to much more recent writers.*' (*1831*, 19; *1845*, 25-26.)

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[19] Emerson may, of course, have read it only in the reprint which appeared in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for September, 1842.

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As a comparison with M. I, 259-260, shows, the emphasis is Hobart's. This is probably the source also of Emerson's remark that Swedenborg anticipated "in magnetism, some important experiments and conclusions of later students." (*Centenary*, IV, 102.)

In his long sentence Emerson further said that Swedenborg anticipated:

> In anatomy, the discoveries of Schlichting, Monro, and Wilson. (*Centenary*, IV, 102.)

This sweeping assertion indicates Emerson's use of other parts of the same chapter in Hobart's book, in which that biographer commented on Swedenborg's *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* (*Oeconomia Regni Animalis*).[20] Hobart said:

> We here introduce a notice of some discoveries, in this work, which were afterwards attributed to others.[21] (*1831*, 23; *1845*, 29.)

Hobart quoted first from Blumenbach's *Institutions of Physiology* the statement that after birth the brain undergoes a con- when the chest expands, it again subsides. Then, Hobart said, Blumenbach adds that Daniel Schlichting first accurately described this phenomenon in 1744. Nevertheless:

> Swedenborg had fully demonstrated, and accurately described, this correspondent action, in that chapter of the Oeconomia Regni Animalis, which treats of the coincidence of motion between the brain and lungs. (*1831*, 23; *1845*, 29; cf. M. I, 262.)

This appears to be all Emerson read about Schlichting. Immediately following this passage I find the source of Emerson's allusion to Wilson. Hobart quoted again from the same book:

> 'When the blood is expelled from the contracted cavities, a vacuum takes place, into which, according to the common laws of *derivation*, the neighboring blood must rush, being prevented, by means of the valves, from regurgitating.' (*1831*, 23; *1845*, 29-30; cf. M. I, 262-263.)

In his notes (continued Hobart) Blumenbach attributed this discovery to Dr. Wilson, author of a treatise on the moving powers which cause the blood to circulate. But it appears from Mr. C. A.

[20] Published in quarto at Amsterdam, 1740-1.

[21] Mr. Charles Augustus Tulk (1786-1849), of London, had noticed and published these coincidences.

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Tulk's investigations that Swedenborg knew this principle long before Wilson did, and applied it, in his *Oeconomia Regni Animalis,* to account for the motion of the blood. (M. I, 262-3; *1831,* 23; *1845,* 30.)

Hobart then quoted, from Swedenborg's remarks on the circulation of the blood in the foetus, and on the *foramen ovale,* a long paragraph to support this statement (M. I, 263; *1831,* 23-24; *1845,* 30-31), adding two more quotations from Swedenborg's treatise. (*1831,* 24-25.)

Hobart's comment hereinafter paraphrased explains also Emerson's mention of Monro. First Hobart wrote:

> Those who are skilled in anatomy and have read this work, state, that Swedenborg was familiar with many truths in anatomy, which were unknown to other learned men of his day. (*1831,* 29-30.)

Hobart then mentioned "a passage of communication between the right and left, or two lateral ventricles of the cerebrum," the first discovery and description of which a celebrated anatomist of Edinburgh, Dr. Alexander Monro, claimed. Other anatomists since conceded it to him, calling it the *Foramen of Monro.* On this subject Dr. Monro read a paper December 13, 1764, but in one of his works he said he demonstrated this Foramen to his pupils as early as 1753. Hobart then quoted in English and Latin from Swedenborg's *Regnum Animale,* page 207, note (r), to show that Swedenborg discovered this foramen before Monro did.[22] This work, continued Hobart, Swedenborg printed in 1744-5, but probably wrote two or three years earlier, so that he must have described this foramen ten or twelve years before Monro first noticed it. (M. I, 261-262; *1831,* 30-31.)

As it is quite possible that Schlichting, Wilson, and Monro made discoveries in anatomy other than those Hobart here, on Tulk's testimony, ascribes to Swedenborg's prior discovery, Emerson's statement in his lecture is misleading, and unjust above all to Swedenborg.

The following passage suggests some indebtedness to Wilkinson's article, reprinted in the *New Jerusalem Magazine:*

[22] M. I, 261-262, *1831,* 30-31. The 1845 edition, which abridged the statement of the 1831 edition, refers to Swedenborg's note to his section number 190. (*1845,* 36.)

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Unrivalled dissectors, Swammerdam, Leeuwenhoek, Winslow, Eustachius, Heister, Vesalius, Boerhaave, had left nothing for scapel or microscope to reveal in human or comparative anatomy. (*Centenary*, IV, 104.)

Wilkinson was not, however, responsible for all of that incautious statement:

Although he (Swedenborg) cultivated anatomy practically, he considered that the standard authorities of his time were more to be relied on than his own dissections (Econ. Reg. An.) on which account he premised the descriptive statements of Heister, Winslow, Malpighi, Morgagni, Boerhaave, Leeuwenhoek, Swammerdam, &c., as his basis for induction. (M. XVI, 13.)

The two lists of names are sufficiently alike to suggest that Wilkinson's list affected Emerson's, especially since Emerson had just mentioned "Malpighi." (*Centenary*, IV, 104.)

This item in the *Mystic* lecture, about Swedenborg, indicates that Emerson had in mind a statement of Wilkinson's in his article:

He must be reckoned a leader in that revolution, which, by giving to science an idea, has given to an aimless accumulation of experiments, guidance and form and a beating heart. (*Centenary*, IV, 110.)

Emerson probably had as his source the following passage:

Swedenborg boldly averred that the records of science, accumulating as they had been for thousands of years, were sufficient for an examination of things on principles, and *à priori;* that a knowledge of natural philosophy does not presuppose the knowledge of innumerable phenomena, but only of principal facts which proceed directly . . . from the world's mechanism and powers . . . and that the restless desire, from age to age, for more facts, is characteristic of those who are unable to reason from principles and causes, and that no abundance would ever be sufficient for such persons . . .

In approaching the human body, he again insisted on the necessity for principles and generalization, without which, he said, 'facts themselves would grow obsolete and perish.' (M. XVI, 14, 15.)

From Emerson's lecture I quote another statement, and place opposite the probable sources in Hobart's biography:

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I own with some regret that his printed works amount to about fifty stout octavos, his scientific works being about half of the whole number; and it appears that a mass of manuscript still unedited remains in the royal library at Stockholm. (*Centenary*, IV, 110-111.)

The (theological) works of Swedenborg . . . comprise, when taken together, an amount equal to about twenty-seven volumes octavo, of five hundred pages each. . . .

There are, however, many unpublished manuscripts of Swedenborg, deposited in the library of the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.[22] (*1831*, 45; *1845*, 104.)

Emerson condensed into one sentence, therefore, two statements which in his source appeared close together.

Swedenborg printed these scientific books in the ten years from 1734 to 1744. (*Centenary*, IV, 111.)

This suggests that Emerson looked in Hobart, 1831, at the foot of page 15, and then at either the foot of page 25, or the top of page 31.

Emerson's comment on the *Animal Kingdom*, however, suggests a debt to Wilkinson's article:

It is remarkable that this sublime genius decides peremptorily for the analytic, against the synthetic method; and, in a book whose genius is a daring poetic synthesis, claims to confine himself to a rigid experience. (*Centenary*, IV, 112.)

Similarly, Emerson wrote later in the lecture:

In his Animal Kingdom he surprised us by declaring that he loved analysis, and not synthesis. (*Centenary*, IV, 130.)

Wilkinson had written:

Swedenborg first states these doctrines synthetically, and then educes the same from, and confirms them by, the phenomena of nature. . . . In this search (for the soul) he repudiated synthesis, and 'resolved to approach the soul by the analytic way.' (M. XVI, 15.)

That Emerson read this statement of Wilkinson's seems probable also in view of another statement Wilkinson made in the same paragraph:

[22] A footnote to the 1845 edition explains that the first statement from Hobart, above, he made in 1831, and that it does not cover such of Swedenborg's posthumous works as his disciples had since published. Here is another reason for assuming that Emerson read only the 1831 edition, whose statement was out of date when he gave his lecture.

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Each organ, he (Swedenborg) observed, commences from certain unities or least parts which are peculiar to it, and derives its form from their gradual composition, and its general function from the sum of their particular functions. The mass is therefore the representative of its minute components, and its structure and functions indicate theirs. The vesicles or smallest parts peculiar to the lungs are so many least lungs; the biliary radicles of the liver, so many least livers; the cellules of the spleen, so many least spleens; the tubuli of the kidneys, so many least kidneys. (M. XVI, 15.)

This at once suggests a passage in *Napoleon; or, the Man of the World:*

It is Swedenborg's theory that every organ is made up of homogeneous particles; or, as it is sometimes expressed, every whole is made of similars; that is, the lungs are composed of infinitely small lungs; the liver, of infinitely small livers; the kidney, of little kidneys, etc. Following the analogy, if any man is found to carry with him the power and affections of vast numbers, if Napoleon is France, if Napoleon is Europe, it is because the people whom he sways are little Napoleons. (*Centenary*, IV, 223.)

Note how in this passage Emerson boiled down Wilkinson's statement to its concrete essentials, and also how he enumerated lungs, livers, and kidneys in the same order which Wilkinson had followed. Emerson said in *Swedenborg:*

This fruitful idea furnishes a key to every secret. What was too small for the eye to detect was read by the aggregates; what was too large, by the units. (*Centenary*, IV, 114.)

This also shows the influence of a sentence of Wilkinson's, which followed in order in the main quotation:

This new method of analysis, in which the greatest things were presumed to indicate the least, with just such reservation as our experience of the least necessitates, was designed to throw light on the intimate structure and occult offices of single organs. (M. XVI, 15.)

What Emerson did with this illustrates the balance, compression, and simplification of his style. Continuing, Wilkinson wrote:

Whatever is manifested in the body is transferrable to the brain, as the source of all functions and structures. If the abdominal organs supply

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the blood with a terrestrial nourishment, the thoracic supply it with an aërial, and the brain with an ethereal food. (M. XVI, 15.)

This seems to have suggested the following passage in *Swedenborg:*

The mind is a finer body, and resumes its functions of feeding, digesting, absorbing, excluding and generating, in a new and ethereal element. Here in the brain is all the process of alimentation repeated, in the acquiring, comparing, digesting and assimilating of experience. (*Centenary*, IV, 108.)

The words "functions," "ethereal," "body," and "brain," occurring as they do in both passages, show the relationship between them. The comparison further shows, however, that Emerson's process of alimentation had gone through the digesting, absorbing, and generating, as well as the feeding function. Emerson continued:

And there is no limit to this ascending scale, but series on series. (*Centenary*, IV, 108-109.)

This "ascending scale" Emerson took from Wilkinson:

Thus every function is first to be traced to its essential form in the bosom of its own organ, and thence, through an ascending scale, to the brain, 'which is eminently muscle, and eminently gland; in a word, which is eminently the microcosm, when the body is regarded as a macrocosm.' (*Econ. R. A.; Regn. Anim.*) (M. XVI, 16.)

This seems to be to some extent the source of Emerson's comment on the *Animal Kingdom* also:

This book announces his favorite dogmas. The ancient doctrine of Hippocrates, that the brain is a gland; and of Leucippus, that the atom may be known by the mass; or, in Plato, the macrocosm by the microcosm . . . is a favorite thought of Swedenborg. (*Centenary*, IV, 113, 114.)

Thus I find that Emerson used in some way at least five passages in Wilkinson's article which appeared in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for September, 1842. As a biographical source for *Swedenborg*, it is, therefore, second in importance only to the 1831 edition of Hobart's *Life of Swedenborg.*

The evidence I have here for the first time presented shows clearly that for his biographical statements about Swedenborg, as

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well as for some others, Emerson relied upon two sources: the first edition of Hobart's *Life of Emanuel Swedenborg,* Boston, 1831, and J. J. G. Wilkinson's article on Swedenborg which the *New Jerusalem Magazine,* September, 1842, reprinted from the *Penny Cyclopaedia.*

In the 1845 edition of Hobart's *Life* I find no statement Emerson might have taken which he might not also have found in the 1831 edition. Four allusions in Emerson's *Journals,* all too early to have any relation to the 1845 edition, yet too late to refer with any likelihood to the 1828-29 *Magazine* articles, indicate that Emerson did read the 1831 edition. Two allusions in Emerson's published works, one in *Nature* (1836) and the other in *Essays, First Series* (1841) indicate as their source the 1831 edition. Thus six allusions, each too early to refer to the 1845 edition, show that Emerson read the 1831 edition.

Comparison of the published book with the *New Jerusalem Magazine* articles for 1828-29 shows that in six out of the seven cases where their respective possible sources of Emerson's biographical statements differ, Emerson evidently followed the book and not the *Magazine* articles. The seventh case, in which the *Magazine* is closer to Emerson's wording than is the book, is only in appearance an exception, for the chances are overwhelming that in this instance Emerson followed Wilkinson's article. I therefore disregard entirely as a source of *Swedenborg* the articles by Hobart in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for 1828-29.

Similar comparison of the 1831 and 1845 editions shows that in all of the four instances in which the two differ, notably in the matter of dates, Emerson followed the 1831 edition. Of seventeen items of evidence, therefore, sixteen point to the 1831 edition, and one points either to the *Magazine* articles, or to Wilkinson's article, with the chances overwhelmingly in favor of Wilkinson's article.

Comparison of Emerson's biographical statements about Swedenborg in the *Mystic* lecture with parallel passages in Hobart's *Life of Swedenborg* reveals similarities of statement and of phrasing so numerous and so striking as to leave no doubt that Emerson availed himself freely of the biography, not only for information, but also for forms of statement and phrasing.

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Of at least five and possibly more parallels which indicate that Emerson used as a source Wilkinson's article, the strongest is perhaps the statement that Swedenborg anticipated the atomic theory. Several other parallels are truly striking, and taken all together, they leave no doubt that Emerson used this source likewise, not only for information, but also for phrases and for the order of ideas.

Throughout this paper I have assumed that Emerson read Wilkinson's article as reprinted in the *New Jerusalem Magazine,* September, 1842. There are, however, other possibilities, in addition to the chance that Emerson may have read it in the *Penny Cyclopaedia.* From Clement J. Wilkinson, *James John Garth Wilkinson, a Memoir,* London, 1911, page 39, I learn that this article was reprinted as a booklet, and formed the nucleus of J. J. G. Wilkinson's *Emanuel Swedenborg, a Biography,* first published in 1849, or just at the time Emerson was finishing his lecture on Swedenborg for *Representative Men.* The permanent booklet form, or possibly the biography, may therefore have been Emerson's actual source rather than the 1842 reprint from which I have quoted. That is a question I cannot yet decide. On any assumption Emerson's debt to Wilkinson is clear.

Assuming as established, then, Emerson's use of these two sources for his biographical statements about Swedenborg, we ask what Emerson did with his borrowings. By condensation which, though in the main judicious, did not always result in complete accuracy of statement, Emerson, in making Hobart's and Wilkinson's statements his own, improved considerably upon their style. The very errors into which he fell show his complete dependence upon his two sources. He was not always, however, careful to say just what his sources authorized, but occasionally made reckless and sweeping assertions. His use of his sources shows rhetorical skill rather than either great accuracy or depth of mind.

Though I have not exhausted in this paper the possible parallels between Hobart's biography and Emerson's lecture, I can indicate no more at present without considering the question of the interpretation of Swedenborg's theological works, a question which I prefer to leave until later. In a subsequent paper I hope to trace

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to their sources in such English translations of these works as I can show from internal evidence that Emerson browsed over, the quotations, direct and indirect, which Emerson made in his lecture, and, by reference to Swedenborg's Latin, and to his own definitions of the words he used, determine to what extent Emerson understood the meaning of the passages he quoted from such translations as he read. For contributions to that paper I may call once more upon the first edition of Hobart's *Life of Swedenborg*, now established as one of the two biographical sources of *Swedenborg; or, the Mystic.*

Drury College.

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POETIC CONVENTIONS IN *LEAVES OF GRASS*

By Lois Ware

Whitman was fond of saying that in his own verses he had discarded the traditions and conventions of the poets that had preceded him. And he was, I suspect, largely sincere in this avowal. But whether this be true or not, it is nevertheless true that he exemplifies at some point or other virtually all of the conventions that he professed to eschew, and that he employed some of these conventions on a large scale.[1] With his use of stanza form and rhyme and the conventional rhythm in "O Captain! My Captain!" every student of Whitman is familiar. But he also employed a stanza form of some sort in "Eidolons," "Gods," "For You O Democracy," "Pioneers! O Pioneers!", "Beat! Beat! Drums!", "Dirge for two Veterans," "In Cabin'd Ships at Sea," "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," "A Noiseless Patient Spider," "Old War-Dreams," and the poem within a poem in "The Singer in Prison." He likewise employed a regular rhyme scheme in the poem within a poem in "The Singer in Prison," in "O Captain! My Captain!," and in "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors"—the two latter of which have both internal and end-rhyme—and in the first section of "By Blue Ontario's Shore" and the "Song of the Broad-Axe."[2] Moreover, an examination of his verse will reveal that he not only used in his earliest work in *Leaves of Grass* an occasional line that will scan quite regularly, but that in his

[1] In *American Criticism*, 1928 (pp. 159-170, 187-190, 226-227), Norman Foerster has shown Whitman's dependence upon the past for a number of the essentials of the poet's theory and practice. In the present article I have emphasized certain externals of his poetic form.

[2] Outside of these rhymes I have observed only 23 internal rhymes and 24 rhyming lines, or 12 end-rhymes. Examples, first, of the internal rhymes are: *Leaves of Grass*, Inclusive Edition, edited by R. E. Holloway, p. 36, l. 10; p. 63, l. 17; p. 67, l. 18; p. 111, l. 13; p. 124, l. 2; p. 128, l. 5; p. 156, l. 4; p. 168, l. 17; p. 188, l. 24; p. 201, l. 13; p. 251, l. 18; p. 304, l. 27; p. 339, l. 12; p. 342, l. 9; p. 343, l. 21; p. 384, l. 7; p. 385, l. 18; p. 390, l. 4; p. 393, l. 9; p. 402, l. 6; p. 454, l. 14; p. 460, l. 20.
Examples of end-rhyme are: *Leaves of Grass*, p. 17, ll. 11-12; p. 167, ll. 2-3; p. 169, ll. 23-24; p. 281, ll. 7-8; p. 333, ll. 15-16; p. 334, ll. 15-16; p. 369, ll. 5-6; p. 383, ll. 17-18; p. 462, ll. 1-2.

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later verses he used such lines not infrequently; indeed that some of his poems, like the "Prayer of Columbus," fall into fairly regular iambic verse, while others adopt an equally regular sequence of trochees or anapests. Almost as significant is the fact that he not infrequently inverted his word order in the interest of a better rhythm. This happens, by my count, in two hundred and sixty-two instances.

Again, despite his avowal that he had discarded poetic diction, Whitman condescended to admit now and then a word that we should at once pronounce to be poetic. The examples that I have noted are: *agone* (1), *Atlantica* (3), *atomies* (1), *babe* (1), *bale* (1), *beseems* (1), *betimes* (2), *betwixt* (1), *cerulean* (2), *charnel* (2), *climes* (2), *darkling* (1), *the deep* (2), *derring-do* (1), *diminute* (2), *e'en* (6), *e'er* (2), *eld* (2), *emprises* (1), *ere* (2), *eterne* (1), *eve* (2), *halcyon* (1), *haply* (18), *isle* (2), *jocund* (6), *kine* (1), *limn* (2), *list* (listen) (5), *list* (please) (1), *lorn* (1), *methinks* (5), *ne'er* (3), *o'er* (10), *swart* (1), *'tis* (9), *twain* (4), *'twas* (4), *'twill* (1), *wend* (8). There are also numerous archaic forms: *aimedest* (1), *ascended'st* (1), *art* (5), *bear'st* (10), *beholdest* (3), *breathest* (1), *bringest* (1), *canst* (1), *carriest* (1), *changest* (1), *considerest* (1), *copest* (1), *couldest* (1), *cullest* (1), *darest* (1), *didst* (1), *disportest* (1), *dost* (1), *drawest* (1), *enterest* (2), *fillest* (1), *freest* (1), *frontest* (1), *furl'st* (1), *gain'st* (1), *givest* (1), *groan'st* (1), *had'st* (1), *hast* (4), *hear'st* (2), *holdest* (1), *infoldest* (1), *journeyst* (1), *knowest* (7), *lackest* (2), *lagd'st* (1), *laughest* (1), *launchest* (1), *lived'st* (1), *lookest* (3), *lovest* (1), *makest* (1), *masterest* (1), *matest* (1), *maturest* (1), *melt'st* (1), *might'st* (1), *missest* (1), *mournest* (1), *movest* (2), *pickest* (1), *playest* (1), *pleasest* (2), *reappearest* (1), *revel'st* (1), *ridest* (1), *sat'st* (1), *seek'st* (2), *seest* (1), *sendest* (1), *shalt* (3), *sittest* (1), *smilest* (1), *soundest* (1), *sport'st* (1), *stridest* (1), *swellest* (1), *takest* (1), *tellest* (1), *thee* (207), *thine* (25), *thy* (183), *thyself* (17), *thou* (179), *'twould* (1), *unfoldest* (1), *unitest* (1), *voyagest* (1), *waitest* (2), *waked'st* (1), *walkd'st* (1), ***wert*** **(1)**, ***wilt*** **(1)**, *would'st* (1), *ye* (23), *yieldest* (2).

But I am less concerned in this inquiry with such sporadic conventions as I have noted than with certain conventions that appear in virtually every poem of any length that Whitman wrote.

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I refer particularly to alliteration, assonance, repetition, parallelism, and, to a less extent, to the refrain. Of these the most striking, if not the most frequent, is alliteration. Of the 10,376 lines that I have examined, 6,311—about 60 per cent.—have consonantal alliteration, and 2,034—not quite 20 per cent.—have vowel alliteration. Yet astounding as these figures may seem, especially if one realizes that when combined, they comprise about 80 per cent. of the grand total,[3] they do not give an adequate idea of the frequency of alliteration in *Leaves of Grass*. In line after line Whitman, instead of conforming to the old norm of single alliteration—the repetition of one initial consonant—employs double and even triple alliteration with a consequent gain in consonance and variety in consonance. This gain becomes immediately apparent when we compare the first of the following examples to the other three:

> The *wh*ite wake left by the quick tremulous *wh*irl of *wh*eels.[4]
>
> The negro *h*olds *f*irmly the reins of his *f*our *h*orses, the block swags underneath on its tied-over chains.[5]
>
> *B*ehold the *b*ody includes and is the *m*eaning and *m*ain concern, and includes and is the soul.[6]
>
> He gives one *c*onvulsive leap in the *c*entre of the *c*ircle, and then *f*alls *f*lat and still in the bloody *f*oam.[7]

Moreover, into the pattern of one or more alliterating consonants, Whitman occasionally weaves alliterating vowels with surprisingly harmonious results. A representative example is

> *C*itadel, *c*eiling, *s*aloon, *a*cademy, *o*rgan, *e*xhibition.[8]

Equally as effective are the following examples of his use of vowel alliteration independent of consonantal alliteration:

> *O*ut of the cradle *e*ndlessly rocking.[9]
> As I *e*bb'd with the *o*cean of life.[10]

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[3] Since the same line frequently has both consonantal and vowel alliteration and therefore is included in both counts, the proportion will be somewhat less than 80 per cent.

[4] "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," § 3, l. 23, p. 135.

[5] "Song of Myself," § 13, l. 1, p. 33.

[6] "Starting from Paumanok," § 13, l. 11, p. 19.

[7] "A Song of Joys," l. 85, p. 152.

[8] "Song of the Broad-Axe," § 9, l. 9, p. 163.

[9] "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," § 1, l. 1, p. 210.

[10] "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life," § 1, l. 1, p. 216.

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> What is this *e*arth to our *a*ffections? (*u*nloving *e*arth without a throb to *a*nswer *o*urs.[11]
>
> *U*ndismay'd amid the rapids—amid the *i*rresistible and deadly *u*rge.[12]

The kindred device of assonance is used almost as frequently as alliteration, but is less immediately perceptible, partly because it is to a large extent concerned with medial vowels and consonants, and partly because it is more evenly distributed between the two types—consonantal and vocalic. For example, out of 10,376 lines, I have noted 5,570, or about 53 per cent., that have vowel assonance, and 5,690, or about 54 per cent., that have consonantal assonance.[13] Some examples, first, of vowel assonance are:

> Your memories *ri*sing *gli*de *si*lently by me.[14]
>
> Observing the spi*r*al flight of two little yellow butterflies shuffling between each other high in the air.[15]
>
> The w*i*nds blowing the n*o*tes of the bird cont*i*nuous echoing.[16]
>
> We feel the long pulsation, *e*bb and flow of *e*ndless motion.[17]

In the last two examples, as is frequently the case, Whitman is playing on two vowels. An excellent example of consonantal assonance independent of alliteration is afforded by the line

> Out of the cradle endlessly rocking,[18]

in which the rhythm is clearly aided by the repetition of the letters *l* and *r*. Other examples are:

> The shape measur'*d*, saw'*d*, jack'*d*, join'*d*, stain'*d*,[19]

in which the *d's* give an effect of finality and completeness; and

> *L*arge, b*r*ave, *cl*eanly, hot-b*l*ooded, no ta*l*ker *r*ather spiritua*l*istic.[20]

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[11] "Passage to India," § 5, l. 17, p. 346.

[12] "While Behind all Firm and Erect," l. 2, p. 460.

[13] "These figures do not include the repetition of the same vowel sound or of the same consonant when such repetition occurs only in alliterating syllables.

[14] "The Return of the Heroes," § 5, l. 10, p. 303.

[15] "Our Old Feuillage," l. 56, p. 147.

[16] "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," p. 214, l. 12.

[17] "In Cabin'd Ships at Sea," l. 12, p. 2.

[18] "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," § 1, l. 1, p. 210.

[19] "Song of the Broad-Axe," § 10, l. 2, p. 164.

[20] "The Dying Veteran," l. 6, p. 437.

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In the second example the poet is playing especially upon the letters *l* and *r*, each of which occurs six times, though he also employs *b*, *v*, *p* as a minor theme. Quite frequently assonance occurs in combination with alliteration, as in the line

> Slavery—the murderous, treacherous conspiracy to raise it upon the ruins of all the rest.[21]

Here the reader will observe that the letter *r*, which appears only three times initially, occurs six times medially—nine times altogether.

Whitman employs also an abundance of repetition. This overlaps obviously with alliteration; but to keep the two as distinct as possible, I have listed the repetition of a single word within a line for the sake of alliteration under alliteration only, not under alliteration and repetition, unless, as in the case of the words *soothe* and *loved* in "out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," the effect is largely dependent upon the repetition or unless the repeated word is part of an "answering phrase," one form of what Amy Lowell calls *return*. Of these latter I have noted some four hundred and sixty cases, representative examples of which are:

> With whistling wind and music of the *waves*, the large imperious *waves*.[22]
>
> Nor these the *universe*, they the *universe*.[23]
>
> The real life of *my senses and flesh transcending my senses and flesh*.[24]
>
> She less *guarded than ever*, yet more *guarded than ever*.[25]

But far more frequent than the answering phrase, is the use of the same word to begin a number of parallel lines. Altogether there are 3,330 parallel lines arranged in groups beginning with the same word. Of these groups, section 11 of "Salut au Monde," in which the word *you* begins twenty-seven consecutive lines, has, perhaps, the longest sustained repetition. Aside from the answering phrase and "initial repetition," the most noteworthy single instances of repetition in *Leaves of Grass* occur in the short poems

[21] "By Blue Ontario's Shore," § 6, l. 40, p. 290.
[22] "In Cabin'd Ships at Sea," l. 3, p. 2.
[23] "Eidolons," l. 58, p. 6.
[24] "Song of Joys," l. 100, p. 153.
[25] "Song of the Broad-Axe," § 11, l. 2, p. 165.

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"Unfolded," "Tears," "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field one Night," "City of Ships," "I Hear America Singing," "Faces," and "The City Dead-House" and in the lyrics in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed." But in many other poems occasional phrases are repeated rather effectively. For example, in "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" the phrase *the fierce old mother cries for her castaways* appears twice; and in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" the phrases *flags of all nations at sunset* and *scallop-edg'd waves* occur two and three times, respectively. Altogether I have counted three hundred and twenty-eight such words and phrases.

This count does not include instances of refrain, which, though not so frequent as some other varieties of repetition, is not uncommon. In general the refrains in *Leaves of Grass* may be classified as (1) conventional refrain and (2) sporadic final refrain. For further simplification the poems belonging to the first class may be redivided into (a) those having a refrain at the end of each stanza, such as "Pioneers! O Pioneers!," "O Captain! My Captain!," "For You, O Democracy," "Eidolons," "Gods," "Old War-Dreams," 'Sparkles from the Wheel," "As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods," "Good-bye My Fancy!," and some of the lyrics in the "Song of the Redwood Tree"; (b) those having a refrain at the beginning of each stanza, such as "Beat! Beat! Drums!," "Song of the Open Road,"[26] "Adieu to Soldiers," "Passage to India," and "The Mystic Trumpeter";[27] (c) short poems having the opening and the closing lines alike, such as "Joy! Shipmate! Joy!," "By the Bivouac's Fitful Flame," the second stanza in section 11 of "By Blue Ontario's Shore," "Thick-Sprinkled Bunting," "Tears," "A Warble for Lilac Time," "Old Salt Kossabone," "The Ox Tamer," "On, on the Same ye Jocund Twain!," and "Ashes of Soldiers";[28] and (d) those, like "So Long" and "The Banner at Daybreak," in which the refrain, instead of appearing regularly at the beginning or the end, is scattered throughout the poem. In addition to these cases of conventional refrain, there are at least one hundred and

[26] Five of the sections of this poem begin with *Allons*.

[27] In the two latter poems the refrain is not so uniform as in the others.

[28] In all but the first three there is a slight variation in the words or the word order of the first and the last line.

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twenty-one different passages having sporadic final refrain—the conclusion of two or more consecutive lines with the same word, phrase, or clause. Some examples are:

> Where the city of the faithfullest friends stands,
> Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
> Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
> Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
> There the great city stands.[29]
> Underneath all, individuals,
> I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores individuals,
> The American compact is altogether with individuals,
> The only government is that which makes minute of individuals,
> The whole thing of the universe is directed unerringly to one single individual—namely to you.
> (Mother! with subtle sense severe, with naked sword in your hand,
> I saw you refuse to treat but directly with individuals).[30]

In the first example we find five consecutive lines ending with *stands;* in the second the first four end with *individuals;* there is a break of two lines; then we come back and conclude on the original note *individuals.*

Even more frequent than repetition or refrain, is parallelism, a device which depends for its effectiveness, not upon the repetition of words and phrases—though that, to be sure, is frequently a corollary—but upon the repetition of the same structure. Typical examples are:

> Long and long has the grass been growing,
> Long and long has the rain been falling,
> Long has the globe been rolling round.[31]
> I will confront these shows of day and night,
> I will know if I am to be less than they,
> I will see if I am not as majestic as they,
> I will see if I am not as subtle and real as they,
> I will see if I am to be less generous than they,
> I will see if I have no meaning while the houses and ships have meaning,
> I will see if the fishes and birds are to be enough for themselves, and I am not to be enough for myself.[32]

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[29] "Song of the Boad-Axe," § 5, ll. 21-25, p. 161.
[30] "By Blue Ontario's Shore," § 15, ll. 6-12, p. 296.
[31] "Song of the Exposition," § 1, ll. 12-14, p. 166.
[32] "By Blue Ontario's Shore," § 18, ll. 1-7, p. 298.

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Altogether I have noted 6,147 lines in parallel structure, or almost 60 per cent. of Whitman's lines. When we recall how very fond the poet is of catalogues, that percentage will not seem very high. But in addition to the cases mentioned, there are 895 lines with internal balance. Some examples are:

> Let the tool remain in the workshop! let the money remain unearn'd
> Let the school stand! mind not the cry of the teacher!
> Let the preacher preach in his pulpit! let the lawyer plead in the court and expound the law.[33]

Indisputably the first and the third lines have internal balance; and I am inclined to consider that the second has also despite the fact that the auxiliary is omitted and the command is expressed negatively. Still other examples are:

> I chant America the mistress, I chant a greater supremacy.[34]
> The sign is reversing, the orb is enclosed,
> The ring is circled, the journey is done.[35]

In his article "A Note on Whitman's Prosody" Professor John Erskine of Columia University says that Whitman, knowing that "we had ceased to observe line-ends in oral reading . . ., made bold to mark no line-ends in the printing of his verse, but only phrases, clauses, and sentences."[36] In the main Professor Erskine is correct. A search for run-on lines in *Leaves of Grass* is like the search for the proverbial needle in a haystack. And the difficulty is augmented by the fact that Whitman almost invariably puts a comma at the end of a line whether or not it is required. This trick of his frequently misleads the reader, who instinctively pauses when he sees the comma and takes it more or less for granted that he has reached yet another end-stopped line, especially since Whitman's style is frequently disjointed and fragmentary. However, in spite of the difficulty offered by his eccentric punctuation and

[33] "Song of the Open Road," § 15, ll. 4-6, p. 133.

[34] "A Broadway Pageant," § 2, l. 39, p. 208.

[35] *Ibid.*, § 3, ll. 5, 6, p. 208; perhaps it would be well to explain that I have not included in my count lines like the 46th and the 48th of "Our Old Feuillage." Such lines seem to me to form an *a-b-c* series, not to offer cases of parallelism in the stricter sense.

[36] *Studies in Philology*, vol. 20, p. 336.

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elliptical style, I have found thirty-seven lines that seem to us indisputably run-on and several others about which I should like to question the poet. Some of the clearest examples are:

> Manhattan's streets I saunter'd, pondering
> On Time, Space, Reality. . . .[37]
> Come nearer, bodiless one, haply in thee resounds
> Some dead composer, haply thy pensive life
> Was fill'd with aspirations. . . .[38]
> The prophet and the bard,
> Shall yet maintain themselves. . . .[39]

To sum up briefly, then, these statistics show that in spite of Whitman's declaration that in *Leaves of Grass* he had used "none of the stock ornamentation," a number of his later poems are written in fairly regular meter, that his verses are not entirely without rhyme, nor even without stanza, that he now and then makes use of inversion, that here and there are to be found well-recognized poetic phrases, that a large proportion of his lines employ alliteration and assonance, that he makes a great deal of repetition, that several of his poems have sporadic final refrain—not to mention some score or more with a conventional refrain,—that more than half of his lines exhibit parallelism of some sort, and that an overwhelming number are end-stopped, the run-on line being so rare as to be almost negligible.

If we turn now to the uncollected poems,[40] we find a very different situation. Of these, all but "Wounded in the House of Friends,"

[37] "Song of Prudence," ll. 1, 2, p. 313.

[38] "The Mystic Trumpeter," § 2, ll. 1-3, p. 389.

[39] "Eidolons," ll. 69, 70, p. 6; the other examples of run-on lines are: *Leaves of Grass*, Inclusive Edition, p. 3, l. 4; p. 5, l. 27; p. 6, l. 27; p. 169, l. 9; p. 194, ll. 7, 8 (?); p. 206, l. 2 (?); p. 248, ll. 23 (?), 24 (?); p. 249, ll. 3 (?), 4 (?); p. 254, l. 13; p. 265, l. 18; p. 284, ll. 7, 22, 23, 27; p. 300, l. 22; p. 317, l. 29; p. 326, l. 24; p. 341, l. 13; p. 389, l. 16; p. 390, l. 21; p. 402, l. 11; p. 422, ll. 2, 3; p. 425, l. 6; p. 426, l. 13; p. 429, l. 10; p. 437, ll. 1, 2; p. 440, ll. 5, 13; p. 436, ll. 13, 15; p. 459, l. 7; p. 462, ll. 14, 21; p. 403, ll. 1, 8 (?).

[40] My discussion of the uncollected poems is based upon the poems in *The Uncollected Prose and Poetry of Walt Whitman* edited by R. E. Holloway (New York, 1922), together with the three short poems—"Dough-Face Song," "Blood-Money," and "Sailing the Mississippi at Midnight"—which do not appear therein.

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"Blood Money," "Isle of La Belle Rivière," and "On Duluth, Minnesota" [41] have both a regular stanza form and a regular rhyme scheme. Likewise, inversion is more common in these poems than in *Leaves of Grass*. On the other hand, poetic diction is rarer, though it falls into exactly the same two general classes—poetic words and archaic forms, with the latter predominating.[42] Alliteration, both consonantal and vocalic, is much less frequent than in *Leaves of Grass:* of the 895 lines only 221, about 20 per cent., have consonantal alliteration, and only 34, almost 4 per cent., have vocalic. Though assonance—consonantal and vowel—is somewhat more frequent than alliteration, it too is less common than in *Leaves of Grass:* for example, of a total of 895 lines 224, about 25 per cent., have consonantal assonance, and 216, or a little over 24 per cent., have vowel assonance; whereas in *Leaves of Grass* the percentages were 54 and 53, respectively. Again, repetition is exceedingly rare in the earlier poems. Neither the answering phrase nor "initial repetition" occurs at all, and there are only 13 cases of occasional repetition. Refrain is even rarer, appearing in only one poem—the "Ode." Parallelism, likewise, is much less frequent than in *Leaves of Grass,* being present in only 110 cases, or about 12 per cent. of the lines. On the other hand, run-on lines are far more frequent. Of a total of 895 lines, 267 are run-on; whereas of a total of 10,376 in *Leaves of Grass,* only 37 are run-on. Just why he should have used so many more in his frankly conventional poems, it is hard to say, though two possible explanations occur to me. First, much of his earlier poetry is written in iambic tetrameter, while a great deal of his later verse has eight or more stresses, so that one line of the later poetry would be as long as two of the earlier. Secondly, the fact that the majority of his rhyming lines in his early poetry rhyme alternately, not in couplets, suggests that he had a feeling for a larger unit of thought than have those poets that make habitual use of the couplet.

[41] The two latter have not been conclusively proved to be his.

[42] The poetic words appearing in the early poems are: *aneath* (1), *babe* (2), *eve* (2), *ev'n* (1), *haply* (1), *I wis* (1), *list* (1), *methinks* (1), *mid* (1), *'neath* (1), *ne'er* (2), *nigh* (3), *o'er* (10), *'tis* (2), *'twould* (1), *ween* (1). The archaic forms are: *art* (3), *bear'st* (1), *cometh* (1), *dost* (1), *fanciest* (1), *livest* (1), *shalt* (1), *singest* (1), *thee* (12), *thine* (3), *thy* (14), *thyself* (1), *thou* (10), *ye* (3).

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A comparison of the results found by a study of *Leaves of Grass* and the *Uncollected Prose and Poetry* of Walt Whitman would seem to indicate that when Whitman discarded the more obvious poetic devices—like regular stanza forms, meter, and rhyme—he unconsciously adopted the less obvious conventions, such as alliteration, assonance, repetition, refrain, parallelism, and end-stopped lines.

The University of Texas.

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THOREAU AND IMMORTALITY

By Raymond W. Adams

Ever since James Russell Lowell undertook to blue-pencil Thoreau's essay "Chesuncook" in the July, 1858, *Atlantic Monthly* and removed the objectionable sentence about the pine tree ("It is as immortal as I am and perhaps will go to a higher heaven, there to tower above me still"[1]) someone has been meddling with Thoreau's ideas of immortality. And no one has done much more than meddle.

While Thoreau was still alive (but not very much so) an intimate friend asked him if he had thought about the other world; he replied that he preferred to think about one world at a time. When his death became imminent, his aunt Louisa Dunbar, as maiden aunts will, asked if he had "made his peace with God." Henry replied with practically the last flash of his delicious humor, "I did not know that God and I had ever quarrelled."

This apparent unconcern was, however, more apparent than real. Thoreau, like all of us, but more than most of us, assumed an unconcern toward the very things that he most hungered for. His preference of "one world at a time" is to be compared with many of his poses that misled Robert Louis Stevenson, as he confessed, to call Thoreau a skulker. Thoreau was centripetal. One looks in vain among the writings he left for publication for even a slight reference to his brother's death or to his own disappointment in love. To the world he paraded unconcern.

But within himself he had eternal longings well matured. Aunt Louisa wanted some kind of shriving known as "making one's peace with God." Her nephew knew of other shrivings and had no fear of the future. To a closer friend than Aunt Louisa (Edmund Hosmer), who came one day early in the spring of Thoreau's death and described his coming through the country and across a field where the first robin had alighted, Thoreau remarked, "Yes. This is a beautiful world; but I shall see a fairer." The

[1] The sentence is restored in the Walden edition of Thoreau's *Writings*, Boston, 1906, III, 135. See also VI, 395-6, and Channing's *Thoreau the Poet-Naturalist*, Boston, 1902, p. 17.

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note of certainity is here. It is in many places in the writings of Thoreau, for immortality is no uncommon theme in his private journal.

The journal now is published, but there are other paragraphs about immortality. In one bundle of unclassified Thoreau manuscript in the Harvard College Library is an essay on death and graveyards and immortality, a probable product of Thoreau's reading of Sir Thomas Browne. And there are unpublished bits of journal and unpublished poems that seem more cogent arguments that Thoreau did think of more than one world at a time than any of the quotations to be gleaned from the published works.

In common with most Transcendental and Hindu philosophers, Thoreau draws almost no line of demarkation between the present and the eternal; the two merge and become one. The body, the soul, do not cease existence in this world but rise to higher and more perfect articulation with the world of nature.

The body but changes form and continues its existence, as Thoreau says,

> . . . in some other form; in corn for fodder, in wood for fuel; in grain or flowers, for use or beauty. Every wind blows the last trump which shall call the lost atoms together.[2]

Nature is of more consequence than any of its physical aspects, and more eternal too, and more unalterable. The bodies, the forms of nature, revert to elements and are reassembled in other forms, but nature does not change. The whole notion is expressed by Thoreau in a letter to Emerson written on March 11, 1842 (a letter not included in the Walden edition of Thoreau's writings), in which he says:

> Nature is not muffled by the hardest blast—the hurricane only snaps a few twigs in some nook of the forest. . . . How plain that death is only the phenomenon of the individual. Nature does not recognize it, she finds her own again under new forms without loss. Yet death is beautiful when seen to be a law and not an accident. . . . We are partial and selfish when we lament the death of an individual, unless our plaint be a paean to the departed soul.[3]

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[2] MS. in Harvard Library. Bundle labelled "Miscellaneous MS. Material."

[3] Letter of March 11, 1842. Copy in New York Public Library.

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We are led to the belief that Thoreau held that the soul suffered a different fate from that of the body. The soul seems not to lose its identity.

Thoreau's brother John had died on the first of the month preceding the letter to Emerson; and this, the first instance of death that had come close home (and none came closer), had turned his thoughts almost entirely to the meaning of death. He wrote, a week earlier, to Mrs. Lucy Brown, Mrs. Emerson's sister,

> What right have I to grieve who have not ceased to wonder.[4]

At the same time Emerson's boy Waldo died, and the two deaths affected Thoreau profoundly. It will be worth while to quote some sentences from Thoreau's journal and his letters of that spring. They reveal much of the growth of Thoreau's eschatology and need no comment.

On February twenty-first, 1842, Thoreau writes:

> My soul and body have tottered along together of late, tripping and hampering one another like unpracticed Siamese twins.[5]

On March second there are two statements:

> I do not wish to see John ever again,—I mean him who is dead,—but that other . . . of whom he was the imperfect representative.[6]

and:

> The same everlasting serenity will appear in this face of God (i. e. nature), and we will not be sorrowful if he is not.[7]

On March eighth Thoreau identifies himself with nature:

> I live in the perpetual verdure of the globe. I die in the annual decay of nature.[8]

and he holds the same idea on the eleventh:

> Why, God, did you include me in your great scheme? Will you not make me a partner at last?[9]
> If Nature is our mother, is not God much more?[10]

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[4] Walden edition of Thoreau's *Writings*, VI, 41.
[5] *Writings* (Walden edition), VII, 322.
[6] *Ibid.*, VI, 41.
[7] *Ibid.*, VI, 41.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII, 324.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII, 327.
[10] *Ibid.*, VII, 326.

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By March twelfth, 1842, Thoreau has settled much in his own mind and says:

> There is no continuance of death. It is a transient phenomenon.[11]

And by the fourteenth there seems to be no doubt left, nothing but optimism:

> Life is grand, and so are its environments of Past and Future. Would the face of nature be so serene if man's destiny were not equally so?[12]

To Thoreau, the body itself was a poor enough thing and utterly despicable. Denied a healthy body himself, though endowed with a tough fiber that made some amends, Thoreau decided early that we, as he says,

> should strengthen and beautify and industriously mould our bodies to be fit companions of the soul,—assist them to grow up like trees.[13]

Here is the "Chesuncook" kinship with trees, the brotherhood with every living object, the identification of soul with life—on however low a plane—that is Hindu in its origin, but that runs through the whole of Thoreau's thinking on the subject of immortality.

The body changes its form, though it too endures. It would have been better, he says, had his soul been bestowed "on some antelope of the plains than upon this sickly body."[14] But, having a sickly and sluggish body, one can try to immerse it in nature and enjoy purely physical ecstacies like an antelope and so make the body an object of nature to endure in the metamorphosis of nature forever. The body matters little. He says in a scrap of manuscript,

> The last thing I should want to preserve is an old man's body which now for thirty years has been wracked with gout and rheumatism. Waste no time at funerals.

The physical immortality of the elements that compose the body is naturally a very small item in Thoreau's idea of immortality. It is the soul or spirit or mind that must be considered chiefly, for

[11] *Ibid.*, VII, 327-8.
[12] *Ibid.*, VII, 330.
[13] *Ibid.*, VII., 176.
[14] *Writings* (Walden edition), VII, 176.

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it (the three are used interchangeably) alone matters and endures as a self. The soul is housed in the body but is not of it. To Thoreau the two were related as they are in the thought of Plato. Even so weak a thing as sleep may release the soul and send it for a time to its heavenly home.

> At night we recline and nestle and infold ourselves in our being. Each night I go home to rest. Each night I am gathered to my fathers. The soul departs out of the body and sleeps in God, a divine slumber. As she withdraws herself, the limbs droop and the eyelids fall and nature reclaims her clay again.[15]

And death is but a deeper sleep that sends the soul about its business without a "wracked" body. He has expressed this thought in his comment upon the corpse strewn beach in *Cape Cod,* speaking of the bodies,

> Their owners were coming to the New World, as Columbus and the Pilgrims did; they were within a mile of its shores; but, before they could reach it, they emigrated to a newer world than ever Columbus dreamed of, yet one of whose existence we believe there is far more universal and convincing evidence—though it has not yet been discovered by science—than Columbus had of this: not merely mariners' tales and some paltry driftwood and seaweed, but a continual drift and instinct to all our shores. I saw their empty hulks that came to land; but they themselves, meanwhile, were cast upon some shore yet farther west, toward which we are all tending, and which we shall reach at last, it may be through storm and darkness, as they did. . . . It is hard to part with one's body, but, no doubt, it is easy enough to do without it when once it is gone. All their plans and hopes burst like a bubble! Infants by the score dashed on the rocks by the enraged Atlantic Ocean! No, no! If the St. John did not make her port here, she has been telegraphed there. The strongest wind cannot stagger a Spirit; it is a Spirit's breath. A just man's purpose cannot be split on any Grampus or material rock, but itself will split rocks until it succeeds.[16]

Death, then, but releases the soul from its human body and sends it on about its business. What did Thoreau conceive that business to be?

It was chiefly to become attuned to Nature and the soul that dwells in Nature—God. It is an upward climb. Though, as he

[15] This is from a journal entry dated October 5, 1840. It is not in the Walden edition but is in *Autumn* (Boston, 1892), p. 69.

[16] *Writings* (Walden edition), IV, 12-13.

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says, "The form of the soul is eternal," yet it must abide in various bodies before it can attain perfection and rest. The soul flies in the bird because it has crawled in the beast. It is in the Journal;

> Methinks the hawk that scoars so loftily and circles so steadily and apparently without effort, has earned this power by faithfully creeping on the ground as a reptile in a former state of existence.[17]

Up from the reptile to the bird, from bird to man, from man to man unto perfect harmony, and then out into nature and eternity—that is the course of the soul. That conception explains much; the peculiar sympathy of Thoreau with beasts and even with plants may be considered to have come partly from a belief that his soul had once inhabited a plant or an animal. Emerson's Oriental library seems to have made an impression upon the young reader who spent the summer of 1841 with Menu and the Vedas. Thoreau had come to see all history as contemporary with him and said,

> Hawthorne, too, I remember as one with whom I sauntered, in old heroic times, along the banks of the Scamander, amid the ruins of chariots and heroes.[18]

Once, looking into a spring pool with its teeming life of insect metamorphosis and tadpole recapitulation, he remarks, musingly,

> Yes, I feel positive beyond a doubt, I *must* pass through *all* these conditions, one day and another; I must go the whole round of life, and come full circle.[19]

And, having come full circle, having risen upon the stepping-stones of its dead bodies, the soul now matured and perfect, released "through storm and darkness" from its final earthly form "makes the safest port in heaven."

> A skillful pilot comes to meet him, and the fairest and balmiest gales blow off that coast, his good ship makes the land in halcyon days, and he kisses the shore in rapture there, while his old hulk tosses in the surf here.[20]

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[17] *Ibid.*, IX, 108.
[18] *Writings* (Walden edition), VI, 93. See also *ibid.*, VI, 179.
[19] Channing, *Thoreau the Poet-Naturalist*, Boston, 1902, p. 271.
[20] *Writings* (Walden edition), IV, 13.

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One of the early poems, written in June, 1837, while Thoreau was a student at Harvard, voices the great patience that marked the man. It begins,

> The blossoms on the tree
> Swell not too fast for me.
> God does not want quick work but sure,
> Not to be tempted by so cheap a lure.[21]

Neither was Thoreau to be tempted by the cheap lure of speed. Time meant nothing with eternity to work in. He seemed impatient at twenty-two when he wrote "The Poet's Delay," but there is no impatience twelve years later when, six days after his thirty-fourth birthday, he expresses his idea of eternity in his Journal in a paragraph that certainly suggests Browning:

> May not my life in nature, in proportion as it is supernatural, be only the spring and infantile portion of my spirit's life? Shall I turn my spring to summer? May I not sacrifice a hasty and petty completeness here to entireness there? If my curve is large, why bend it to a smaller circle? My spirit's unfolding observes not the pace of nature. The society which I was made for is not here. Shall I, then, substitute for the anticipation of that this poor reality? I would (rather) have the unmixed expectation of that than this reality. If life is a waiting, so be it. I will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. What were any reality which I can substitute? Shall I with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over myself, though when it is done I shall be sure to gaze still on the true ethereal heaven far above, as if the former were not,—that still distant sky o'erarching that blue expressive eye of heaven? I am enamored of the blue-eyed arch of heaven.[22]

What is time if one be enamored of the blue-eyed arch of heaven? What is a mere body but a vain reality, one which cannot hinder the soul on its progress to the ethereal heaven far above?

Among other earthly forms Thoreau sees hints and types of the final disembodying of the soul. The moth puts off its wintry chrysalis, the bird migrates toward summer in more pleasant tropics, and Thoreau himself is impelled to say,

> Today I feel the migratory instinct strong in me. . . . This indefinite restlessness and fluttering on the perch do, no doubt, prophesy the final migrations of souls out of nature to a serener summer.[23]

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[21] Quoted in the American Art Association, Wakeman Catalog, No. 977.

[22] *Writings* (Walden edition), VIII, 316-317.

[23] *Writings* (Walden edition), VII, 176.

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He describes the "serener summer" in an unpublished paragraph of his Journal for 1843 (a year that is omitted from the published Journal),

> The future will no doubt be a more natural life than this. We shall be acquainted and shall use flowers and stars, and sun and moon, and occupy this nature which now stands over and around us. We shall reach up to the stars and planets fruit from many parts of the universe. We shall *purely* use the earth and not abuse it—God's in the breeze and whispering leaves and we shall then hear *him*. We live in the midst of all the beauty and grandeur that was ever described or conceived. We have hardly entered the vestibule of nature. It was here, be assured, under these heavens that the gods intended our immortal life should pass—these stars were set to adorn and light it—these flowers to carpet it.[24]

He has made his heaven the perfected image of his world—Nature. He had said,

> The truest account of heaven is the fairest, and I will accept none which disappoints expectation. It is more glorious to expect a better, than to enjoy a worse.[25]

Thoreau had been protesting against the conventional heaven since he had been told, at the age of three, that sometime he too must die and go to heaven and had replied that he "did not want to go to heaven, because he could not carry his sled with him, for the boys said it was shod with iron, and therefore not worth a cent." He had given up the sled for another hobby now; the boys of Concord still said his hobby was not worth a cent. But he no longer shied at heaven on that account. He made himself a heaven that included the hobby.

Indeed, he considered that he was already in the vestibule of heaven while yet in Concord. Eternity was not postponed but was, if the body were properly merged into nature, already attained in the woods of Concord. For him "Wilderness were paradise enow," and he remarked:

> I can see nothing so proper and holy as unrelaxed play and frolic in this bower God has built for us. The suspicion of sin never comes to this thought. Oh, if men felt this they would never build temples even of

[24] A MS. dated Aug. 26, 1843, owned by Mr. George S. Hellman.
[25] *Writings* (Walden edition), IX, 232.

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marble or diamond, but it would be scarilege and profane, but disport them forever in this paradise.[26]

Heaven lies about us long after our infancy; it is with us whenever we are heavenly enough to begin to see it, thinks Henry Thoreau.

The young Concord radical who renounced the church still thought much about his soul and immortality, and wrote much about it too. It happens that little of that part of his thinking got into his books. Most of it remained in manuscript until the Journals were published in 1906. And some of it has remained so until now.

The University of North Carolina.

[26] *Writings* (Walden edition), VII, 302.

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THE WESTERN MESSENGER AND *THE DIAL*

By Clarence Gohdes

The Western Messenger was the product of the literary ambitions of several young Unitarian ministers who desired to arouse in the West an interest in religious philosophy and in literature akin to that which had marked their earlier milieu in New England. Established in Cincinnati in 1835, by James Freeman Clarke, William G. Eliot, and Ephraim Peabody, the periodical announced as its primary object the purpose "to set forth and defend Unitarian views of Christianity,"[1] and bore the legend, "Devoted to Religion and Literature." This combining of a clerical purpose with the desire to provide readers with the amenities of a literary contact more or less secular, while no marked innovation in the history of Unitarian journalism,[2] was new to the West.

The attempt was first made to have *The Messenger* conducted by several editors, but gradually the responsibility for its issue devolved upon Ephraim Peabody. During the first half of the year 1836 the burden fell upon Clarke, under whose supervision the magazine was published at Louisville, Kentucky. The effort has been made to determine the actual circumstances of its editing and publishing, but to little avail.[3] The fact of the matter seems to be that quite frequently, when the duties of the church called the editors away from the scene of its publication, *The Western Messenger* was left in the charge of various individuals who had already been regular contributors to its pages. Chief among these were James H. Perkins, Samuel Osgood, and Christopher P. Cranch.[4] Be-

[1] *Western Messenger*, I, 1.

[2] See, for example, *The Unitarian Advocate*, published in Boston and elsewhere, I, 281 and 304.

[3] The "proposals" for the magazine had announced its name as *The Western Examiner*, doubtless after *The Christian Examiner* of Boston, then the chief Unitarian journal in America. The change was made because a St. Louis periodical had employed the name before the first number was in the press (*W. M.*, I, 1). The best account of its history is to be found in Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, 1925, I, 183.

[4] Perkins had already conducted *The Western Monthly Magazine* with great success (W. H. Channing, *Memoir and Writings of J. H. Perkins*,

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ginning with the number for May, 1839, the first of these three men, together with Clarke and W. H. Channing, assumed responsibility for its editorial policy. The October issue for the same year ended its publication, until May, 1840, when W. H. Channing took charge alone. With the issue for April of the next year it expired, chiefly because Clarke, its prime mover, had returned to New England, and its transcendental nature caused the loss of subscribers.

Originally engaged most actively in furthering the cause of the Unitarian church in the West, as announced at the beginning of its career, *The Messenger,* under Clarke's influence chiefly, became more and more a literary magazine with a conservative attitude toward abolition and the kindred subjects so vexing to the era of dawning national consciousness. Before it ceased publication, it had become a full-fledged organ of transcendental thought. Under Channing's direction the title page for the yearly volume had been changed to announce a more catholic devotion, "To Religion, Life, and Literature"; and a preliminary statement of policy declared that *The Western Messenger* "ought never to be the organ of a sect," since "Sectarianism is heresy." [5] The covers for some of the numbers printed in 1840 advertised the fact that the periodical obeyed no "ecclesiastical authority"; and this in spite of its having been published at the outset by the Western Unitarian Association.[6]

Aside from its literary merit as one of the most readable of the magazines published in the West of the time, *The Messenger* is eminently noteworthy for the reflection in its pages of the development of American liberalism—from the reaction against the ontological inhibitions of Calvinism, through the emancipatory stages of interest in the philosophy of Cousin, Goethe, Kant, and Coleridge, to what Emerson termed the "Saturnalia or excess of faith"; [7] namely, transcendentalism.

Boston and Cincinnati, 1851, I, 89). Cranch states in an account of his activities during his stay in the West, "One number of the 'Messenger' was made up almost entirely of my own writings" (L. C. Scott, *Life and Letters of Christopher P. Cranch*, 1917, 41).

[5] *W. M.*, VIII, 5.

[6] The title pages of the first three volumes named the Western Unitarian Association as publishers. In 1838 the periodical received financial aid from the American Unitarian Association (cf. *W. M.*, IV, 432).

[7] "The Transcendentalist" (*Dial*, III, 302). The change in policy of

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In addition to the products of the *Dial* group of writers, who will be discussed later, *The Western Messenger* printed material from pens so renowned that this fact alone would supply sufficient grounds for its reaching "perhaps the highest point in the literary achievement of early Western magazines." [8] It is now rather well known that Keats's "Ode to Apollo" and two sections of his journal were printed first on its pages.[9]

In the beginning, the editors of *The Messenger* planned to encourage literary activity in the West by conducting a department entitled "Western Poetry," in which were printed and criticised verses by such poets as W. D. Gallagher, C. D. Drake, and M. P. Flint.[10] Before long, however, the definite interest in the affairs of the West that had marked the first issues subsided in favor of material from abroad and from New England, partly for the reason that underlay one of the editor's complaints, "There is one thing, however, which to us is a matter of regret—our poetical aspirants are much too numerous." [11]

There is every indication of a keen interest in the more significant literary activities of the country at large, however. Most of the important works of American litterateurs brought out during the period of its existence prompted critical comment and quotation. For example, Longfellow's *Outre-Mer* was characterised as "somewhat languid," [12] a section of Bancroft's history, "George Fox and

the paper not only lost subscribers, but occasioned some disturbance among the select coterie of contributors. "The tone of the *Western Messenger* at one time caused him [Huidekoper] some disquiet. It was, under W. H. Channing's sanction, giving generous space to a consideration of certain ideas which Mr. Huidekoper looked upon as equally opposed to common sense and safety" (N. M. and F. Tiffany, *H. J. Huidekoper*, 1904, 281).

[8] Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 178.

[9] See *W. M.*, I, 763; I, 772-777; and I, 820-823. For an account of the circumstances of their publication see Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 180-181 and Amy Lowell, *John Keats*, II, 20-25.

[10] Brief biographies and selections from the poetical effusions of these men may be found in W. T. Coggeshall, *Poets and Poetry of the West*, Columbus, 1860.

[11] *W. M.*, I, 272.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 76.

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the Quakers,"[13] was reprinted, and two of Bryant's poems were reproduced from *The Democratic Review*.[14]

"The Parting Word" of Oliver W. Holmes was first printed in *The Messenger* for May, 1838.[15] Clarke's early friendship for their author, no doubt, occasioned the appearance of these verses west of the Alleghenies. After Holmes's volume of poems had been brought out in 1836, Clarke remarked in a critique of them:

> Well do we remember the first appearance of many of them in past college times—'the joy, the triumph, the delight, the sadness,' with which we heard them read in social circle around a classmate's fire. . . .[16]

In the number for July, 1838, a sketch by Hawthorne, "Footprints on the Sea Shore," was published.[17] This article, which, the editor assured his readers, had "all of Washington Irving's delightful manner, with profounder meaning and a higher strain of sentiment,"[18] had appeared six months before in *The Democratic Review*.[19] In 1842 Hawthorne included it in the second series of *Twice Told Tales*.

Like all of the professed literary magazines of the day, *The Western Messenger* devoted many of its pages to criticisms and reviews of the works of authors ranging from Wordsworth to Harriet Martineau. But, unlike most of its fellow periodicals, its criticism is marked by a breadth of view and a freedom from national bias that is to be accounted for only when one considers the antecedents of most of its contributors. It is exceedingly doubtful whether any magazine of the period in question, particularly in the West, could boast a group of writers with better education or a wider acquaintance with continental literature than those whose pens were employed in the service of *The Messenger*. The periodical was "essentially an eastern messenger, the organ of New England

[13] *Ibid.*, V, 95.

[14] "The Future Life" (*W. M.*, VII, 47); and "The Battle-Field" (*ibid.*, VI, 48).

[15] *W. M.*, V, 78-80. G. B. Ives, compiler of *A Bibliography of Oliver W. Holmes*, 1907, fails to note the publication of the poem prior to 1846.

[16] *W. M.*, III, 684. Cf. Holmes's lines, "To James Freeman Clarke," 1880.

[17] *W. M.*, V, 248-257.

[18] *Ibid.*, V, 248.

[19] Cf. *Democratic Review*, I, 190-197.

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liberalism in the Valley of the Ohio. Devoted to religion and literature, it was even more literary than religious, and both its theology and its literature were tinctured with transcendentalism." [20]

The Western Messenger AND EMERSON

It has been asserted that the chief claim of *The Western Messenger* to distinction in its service to New England literature was its "defense of Emerson against his critics and its publication of 'almost the first poetical specimens of his writings which have appeared in print'." [21] The purpose of the next few pages of this essay is to indicate the nature and scope of the relationship established between the Sage of Concord and the Western journal.

The first article in *The Western Messenger* that evinces any connection with that storm center of Unitarian liberalism is an obituary notice of Charles C. Emerson, who died in New York during May, 1836. The writer of the brief account, Samuel Osgood, spices the usual encomiums with personal incidents which indicate a close familiarity with the family of the deceased, and, fittingly enough, closes with a passage from Goethe's lines on Schiller.[22]

The next contact established seems to be in the issue for January, 1837, which contains a favorable critique of *Nature,* that rhapsodic utterance of the preceding year. Not only does the writer, Osgood again, launch forth into a typically transcendental elaboration of Nature as the emblem of Divine Wisdom, Beauty, Love, and Power; but contrives by means of numerous quotations to give a succinct paraphrase of the whole work.[23] The chapter on Idealism caused the reviewer to "doubt much the wisdom of the speculation therein contained"; and the Orphic sentences at the end, 'which a certain poet sang to the author,' appeared "especially dark." [24] Although he appreciated the likelihood that Emerson had not "mingled

[20] W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley,* Cincinnati, 1891, 72.

[21] Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 182.

[22] *W. M.*, I, 864. "Notes from the Journal of a Scholar," by Charles Emerson, were printed in *The Dial,* I, 13; and IV, 88.

[23] *W. M.*, II, 385-393.

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 392.

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enough with common humanity" and might possibly have "confounded his idiosyncrasies with universal truth," he termed the work remarkable for those "who consider it to be 'mere moonshine,' as well as those who look upon it with reverence as the effusion of a prophet-like mind."[25] Considering the close relationship, both personal and spiritual, that existed between the guiding lights of the magazine and the New England iconoclast, the review seems remarkably sane and free from prejudice. The chief weaknesses of the Emersonian view of life and living are pointed out in a friendly but unmistakable fashion.

The Messenger for September, 1837, contained "fillers" from *Nature*. The custom thus initiated was maintained throughout later issues, and here and there, particularly in the numbers for 1840, one finds short passages from the most electric of Emerson's rhetorical effusions filling out gaps between articles.[26] The importance attached to these by the editors is apparent when one observes that other such quotations were gleaned, for instance, from Sir Thomas Browne, Henry Vaughan, Carlyle, and Madame de Staël.

The Phi Beta Kappa oration of August, 1837,[27] called forth an article by C. P. Cranch, who four months later expressed to the readers of *The Messenger* the wish that they might get some idea of "this beautiful and masterly production." "Those who have read 'Nature'," he writes, "will not fail to see traces of the same spirit and style which distinguished that bright little gem in our literature."[28] After an outline of the salient points made in the address, Cranch refers to this product of Emerson's "elevated and fervent spirit" as an indication of the "purer elements struggling to the surface of the stream of society," which he characterizes as "stagnant, unspiritual, and corrupt."[29]

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 387.

[26] Cf. *ibid.*, VI, 102, 314, 324, 341, 355; VIII, 404, 424, 467; and elsewhere.

[27] The *W. M.* had printed in its first volume a review of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa address of 1835, delivered by T. Parsons, and had published Ephraim Peabody's poem for the same occasion, "New England Emigration Westward" (*W. M.* I, 293 and I, 408).

[28] *W. M.*, IV, 184.

[29] *Ibid.*, IV, 188.

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The "elements struggling to the surface" were soon to be given buoyancy of a more efficacious nature by the *Divinity School Address,* of 1838. Like the two preceding documents of the revolt against formalism in metaphysical thought, this also was reviewed in *The Messenger* within a few months after it had set the tongues of theologians wagging.[30] The article, "R. W. Emerson and the New School," unsigned, but probably the work of Clarke or Cranch, is one of the clearest statements of the circumstances leading to, and connected with, this heretical expression of individualism in religion. "On the whole, we think that the results of this controversy will be excellent," states the critic. "For ourselves, we are convinced that if Mr. Emerson has taught anything very wrong, it will be found out, and then he will quietly drop out of the Unitarian church, or the Unitarian church will quietly fall off from him." "The question is," continues the writer, "has he taught anything wrong? . . . To confess the truth, when we received and read the address, we did not discover anything in it objectionable at all. . . . Parts seemed somewhat obscure." [31] In places the phraseology "hurt"; but, for him, the most charitable and correct view of the matter was to believe that Emerson did not fail to accept the integrity of historical Christianity, but that he was opposing its defects. "The common error is to be satisfied with the historical faith, and it is this error which he thought it necessary to oppose." [32] Some of the best students of the subject agree that such was the purpose of the Poet-Mystic whose speech to the seven graduates, their teachers and friends stirred up the waves of controversy and "frightened Harvard theology back toward at least Unitarian orthodoxy," to quote Barrett Wendell's apt observation.[33]

Immediately following this article appeared another, also unsigned, but probably to be ascribed to Clarke, entitled "The New School in Literature and Religion," which is a reply to a portion of Andrews Norton's attack on Emerson that had been published in *The Boston Daily Advertiser.* The irate professor, whose annoyance at the indirect responsibility for the address urged him to vent his spleen at the expense of all who sought to liberate themselves

[30] *Ibid.*, VI, 37, Nov., 1838.
[31] *Ibid.*, VI, 39.
[32] *Ibid.*, VI, 41.
[33] See, for example, G. E. Woodberry, *R. W. Emerson,* 1914, 57-59.

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from the carefully preserved authority inherent in the Harvard orthodoxy of the day, went out of his way to attack his erstwhile students who had gone "blundering through the crabbed and disgusting obscurity of some of the worst German speculatists." Not content with ascribing the evil to German radicalism, he even censured *The Western Messenger* for having quoted and commended the "Atheist Shelley." [34]

This particularized attack not only prompted a defense of Shelley as an artist, but gave occasion for a statement of the fundamentals of the "New School." [35] The new group is taken to be the "large and increasing number of the clergy and laity, of thinking men and educated women, especially of the youth in our different colleges, of all sects and all professions, who are dissatisfied with the present state of religion, philosophy, and literature." [36] Cousin, Carlyle, and Schleiermacher are mentioned as the chief foreign sponsors of the movement, while Brownson, Furness, Emerson, and Channing are pointed out as their most eminent American counterparts. After an insistent declaration of the fact that there is no general unanimity of thought or purpose to be looked for among the followers of the movement, the writer makes this statement: "If we are asked who is the leader of this New School, we should not name Mr. Emerson so soon as Dr. Channing." [37] Perhaps the theological penchant of the author of the article inclined him to this belief, or perhaps there is some truth in the idea that Emerson's importance in the development of the impulse seeking "the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind" [38] has been grossly exaggerated. At any rate, the writer's location in the West must have given him objective material as the basis of his judgment in the matter.

In *The Western Messenger* for February, 1839, appeared two of Emerson's poems, "Each in All" and "To the Humble-Bee." [39]

[34] *W. M.*, III, 474, an article entitled "Shelley and Pollok," by "D. L." The writer vehemently declared, "We had rather be damned with Percy Bysshe Shelley than go to heaven with John Calvin and Robert Pollok."

[35] *Ibid.*, VI, 42-47.

[36] *Ibid.*, VI, 46.

[37] *Ibid.*, VI, 47.

[38] O. B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*, 1876, 136.

[39] *W. M.*, VI, 229 and 239.

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The following sentences served as an introduction to them:

> Those of our readers who enjoy fine poetry will thank the author of the following verses for communicating them, as well as those on the "Humble Bee," to the reading public. The same antique charm, the same grace and sweetness, which distinguish the prose writings of our author, will be found in his verse. These are almost [40] the first poetical specimens of his writing which have appeared in print. There are others, as we know, behind, not inferior to them in beauty of thought and expression. May we not hope also that these gems may be given to the lovers of the 'blameless muse'? [41]

The April number of the same year (1839) contained "Good-Bye, Proud World," and the issue for three months later included "The Rhodora." The changes that the poems underwent at the hands of their author after their initial publication are for the most part minor.[42] The following excerpt from a letter of James Freeman Clarke, dated January 1, 1839, will show how Emerson's verses came to be published in Louisville:

> . . . Had you not given me those poems, I should probably never have asked you for anything; but now I wish you to give me two more, namely, 'The Rhodora,' and the lines beginning,—'Good-Bye, proud world! I'm going home.' I have them in my possession, though not by Margaret's [Fuller's] fault; for she gave them to me accidentally among other papers. But, being there, may I print them? [43]

In an essay on "Transcendentalism," by C. P. Cranch, in *The Western Messenger* for December, 1840,[44] there appears the following reference to Carlyle and Emerson: "A certain great writer of England is accused of imitating the Germans; and another writer of our country of imitating him; and these writers in turn, of being

[40] The "almost" may be due to the occasional rhapsodical passages in Emerson's prose published before this date, or to the fact that the "Concord Hymn" was printed on single sheets in 1837. Cf. W. E. Peck, "A Lost Poem of Emerson?", *Southwest Review*, XII, 304.

[41] *W. M.*, VI, 229.

[42] "The Humble-Bee," for example, originally began: "Fine humble-bee! fine humble-bee!"; and after line ten read: "Flower-bells | Honied Cells | These the tents Which he frequents"; and did not have "Grass with green flag" . . . to "Clover, catchfly . . ." (Stanza 5, lines 5-9).

[43] *James Freeman Clarke, Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence*, ed. E. E. Hale, 1891, 124.

[44] *W. M.*, VIII, 407.

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imitated by others." The implication is that the charge of such philosophical and literary counterfeiting is false. However true the writer's assertion that the *Zeitgeist* was eminently "the spirit of earnest, free, large enquiry,"[45] rather than that of adjustment to the authority of leadership, no reader of *The Messenger* can fail to see that Emerson's personality and literary products helped to crystallize the growing reaction against tradition, which played such an important part in the lives of his friends in the West, who, all unconsciously, were making their magazine a vehicle for the expression of the philosophical vagaries inherent in Romantic individualism.[46]

Contributors to *The Western Messenger* and *The Dial*

The Dial was founded in 1840 because of the intense passion for self-expression which moved a select group of New England individualists. *The Western Messenger* had been founded a few years earlier for a somewhat similar reason; and, after a few numbers had appeared, had been conducted on the very same principles as *The Dial.* Indeed, a closer relationship as to origin is established

[45] *W. M.*, VIII, 408.

[46] In spite of their partizanship the writers for *The Western Messenger* were able to appreciate the humor underlying the tempest in the theological tea-pot. For example, in a notice of the publication of Norton's discourse on "The Latest Form of Infidelity," delivered at Cambridge, July 19, 1839, the following sentence appears: "This discourse we lay aside, with Mr. Emerson's of July, 1838, and *The Boston Quarterly Review* of last April, meaning in our old age to reprint them as curiosities" (*W. M.*, VII, 435).

In Louisville Cranch amused his friend Clarke by drawing caricatures of the chief men involved in the controversy, arranging a number of them under the heading, "Illustrations of the New Philosophy." "One of them represents a man lying in bed sipping wine, a copy of *The Dial* having fallen to the floor, while his wife sits at the foot of the bed blacking his boots. This was called 'The Moral Influence of the Dial,' and it had this legend from the poem on 'Life':

> Why for work art thou striving,
> Why seekest thou for aught?
> To the soul that is living
> All things shall be brought."

(G. W. Cooke, *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XVIIII, 236). The drawing described by Cooke is reproduced in the *Life and Letters of C. P. Cranch*, 60.

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when one remembers that the haphazard assemblage, variously called Hedge's Club, the Symposium, or the Transcendental Club, which fostered *The Dial,* had at its first conference, in 1836, discussed the unhappy plight of the Unitarian church.[47] The purpose of both periodicals, to further the aims of religion, literature, and philosophy, was as identical as their youthful spirit of experiment and naive disregard for tradition so characteristic of the whole transcendental movement.[48]

The similarity of origin [49] and purpose that one notes in the two magazines is no less striking than the similarity of the lists of their contributors. In 1891 a pioneer student of the literature of the Middle-West pointed out the fact that at least ten of the writers for *The Messenger* later contributed to *The Dial.*[50] James Freeman Clarke, whose editorial activities in connection with *The Messenger* were the most extensive, furnished at least eight poems and articles to the New England periodical. Moreover, his close association with Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley must also have resulted in many suggestions relative to the conduct of *The Dial,* since his own experience as a journalist was of such a nature as to be fruitful of counsel for the untrained editors of the new publication.[51]

Another of the editors of *The Messenger,* W. H. Channing, was responsible for at least three articles in *The Dial;* while C. P. Cranch was the mainstay among its versifiers, as he had been for *The Messenger* earlier. Samuel Osgood and Ephraim Peabody, who also assisted in directing the affairs of the Western periodical,

[47] T. W. Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli,* 1893, 142.

[48] For an account of the origin of *The Dial* see G. W. Cooke, Introduction for the Rowfant Club reprint of *The Dial,* 1902, or the same, in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* XVIIII, 225-265, and 322-323; J. E. Cabot, *A Memoir of R. W. Emerson,* 1887, II, 401-408; and T. W. Higginson, *op. cit.,* cap. IX and X.

[49] It is probably merely adventitious that Emerson planned an organ of the new spirit which Carlyle was to edit, just about the time that *The Messenger* was being established (Cf. *Carlyle, Emerson Correspondence,* 1883, I, 58).

[50] W. H. Venable, *op. cit.,* 80.

[51] For Clarke's earlier connection with the 'Club,' see Cabot, *op. cit.,* I, 245.

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did not make any known contributions to the Boston quarterly, but were closely associated with the Transcendental Club.[52]

All of the editors of *The Dial,* in turn, had portions of their work produced upon the pages of *The Messenger.* As has been indicated, Emerson contributed to it four poems, and was frequently used as a source of material for quotation. Margaret Fuller supplied at least four critical essays, ranging from an account of Bulwer's works to an appreciation of Hannah More.[53] George Ripley made no direct contributions, apparently, but was frequently quoted in reviews of his "Foreign Specimens," and, in particular, in a notice of his sermon on "The Duties of the Clergy," preached at the ordination of J. S. Dwight, in Northampton, May 20, 1840.[54] After an introductory attack upon the orthodox metaphysicians for driving Kant and Alcott, Coleridge and Emerson, Carlyle and Brownson into a common fold labeled "Transcendentalism," most of the sermon is quoted intact. Dwight himself contributed translations of German poetry to both periodicals.

F. H. Hedge, who as early as 1835 was suggested as the editor of the proposed "organ of spiritual philosophy" in Boston,[55] and whose influence upon the adjustment of German thought to the exigencies of New England Calvinism has not been minimized,[56] was also a contributor to both journals. *The Messenger* printed two of his addresses.[57] Another *Dial* writer, Elizabeth Peabody, who has the distinction of having provided for that periodical's publication during its second year, appears also to have been an occasional contributor.

Two others whose literary products were printed in both magazines were C. T. Brooks and Caroline S. Sturgis. The latter, who

[52] Of course, the names of some of the contributors to *The Dial* are not known. All material dealing with the names of its contributors is derived from Cooke.

[53] See, *W. M.* I, 20, 101, 398; and V, 24.

[54] *W. M.*, VIII, 226-236.

[55] G. W. Cooke, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* XVIIII, 226.

[56] H. D. Gray, *Emerson, a statement of New England Transcendentalism as expressed in the philosophy of its chief exponent,* 1905, 7: "The introduction or rather domesticating of German philosophy, which brought New England Transcendentalism itself into being, was the work, mainly, of F. H. Hedge."

[57] *W. M.*, V, 82; and VI, 32 (not complete).

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wrote over the signature 'Z,' was distinguished by having one of her poems appear in both journals. Under Channing's régime as editor her verses entitled "Paean" were reprinted in *The Messenger* with the notice, "From *The Dial.*" [58]

That strangely sundered soul, Jones Very, not only aided Emerson in his burdensome task of filling the pages of the New England organ of liberalism, but earlier performed a like service for the editor of *The Western Messenger.* His contribution of twenty-seven "religious sonnets" prompted Channing to devote a few pages to a defense of their author from the charge of being mad, and occasioned the receipt of thirteen more products of his muse.[59]

The more famous mystic, Amos Bronson Alcott, was quoted in *The Messenger,* in reviews of his educational treatises,[60] and, later, sent along the manuscript of his prose-poem, "Psyche, or The Growth of the Soul." But before Channing could print the rhapsody the journal ceased publication. Some of this material, it seems, may have appeared in *The Dial* under the title "Days from a Diary." [61]

Theodore Parker contributed at least one essay to the Western journal: "The Relation of the Bible to the Soul." [62] In general, it may be said that of the "fine constellation of people" who wrote for *The Dial* few of the leading figures had not earlier written for *The Western Messenger.* Thoreau is the most notable exception. However, the absence of his name from the list of contributors to the Western periodical is compensated for by the presence of the names of W. H. Furness, Convers Francis, and Dr. W. E. Channing,[63] men who meant more to their day than a thousand choice hermit-souls like Thoreau.

Contents of *The Western Messenger* and *The Dial*

From the similarities that have been observed in their origin, purpose, and lists of contributors, it is but natural that there

[58] *Ibid.*, VIII, 474. Cf. *Dial*, I, 217.

[59] *W. M.*, VI, 310-314, 366-373; and VIII, 43, 424, 449, 462, 467, 472, 549-552.

[60] Cf. for example, *ibid.*, III, 540 and 678.

[61] *Dial*, II, 409.

[62] *W. M.*, VIII, 337 and 388. For Parker's authorship of this essay see John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, 1864, I, 123.

[63] Cf. *W. M.*, I, 388; II, 340; and IV, 343.

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should be a marked likeness in the contents of *The Western Messenger* and *The Dial.* H. C. Goddard, speaking of the latter, observes:

> The journal discussed questions of theology and philosophy; it contained, besides many other things, papers on art, music, and literature, especially German literature; translations from ancient 'Oriental Scriptures,' original modern 'scriptures' in the form of Alcott's Orphic Sayings; and, finally, a good deal of verse.[64]

This description of the contents of the periodical would fit *The Western Messenger* quite aptly.

In the field of art, for example, the Eastern magazine's interest in Allston, exemplified by Margaret Fuller's article on her impressions of the artist's exhibition in 1839,[65] finds a very close parallel in an account of the "Allston Exhibition," written by Channing for *The Western Messenger.*[66] Not content with a criticism of the canvases under consideration, the Western journal reproduced at the same time two of the painter's poems, "Rosalie," and "The Spanish Maid."[67] A few months later another of his poems, "Ursulina," was printed, along with a part of one of his essays, originally published in the first volume of *The American New Monthly Magazine.*[68]

In its religious tone *The Dial* presents another similarity to *The Western Messenger.* One has only to note such articles as Parker's "Thoughts on Theology,"[69] or Elizabeth Peabody's "A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society"[70] to realize that the New England journal was scarcely more secular than its Western counterpart. Margaret Fuller as editor did not feel that the spirit of her journal was not the type to print such an essay as W. D. Wilson's "The Unitarian Movement in New England."[71] Indeed, it has been affirmed with eminent justice that its "philosophical and religious elements constantly tended to overbalance the literary quality" of the publication.[72] No one appreciated this more than

[64] *Studies in New England Transcendentalism,* 1908, 37.
[65] *Dial,* I, 73.
[66] *W. M.,* VII, 200.
[67] *Ibid.,* VII, 204.
[68] *W. M.,* VII, 327.
[69] *Dial,* II, 485.
[70] *Ibid.,* II, 214.
[71] *Ibid.,* I, 409.
[72] H. C. Goddard, *op. cit.,* 196.

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Emerson himself, who observed in his journal, "*The Dial* is poor and low and all unequal to its promise." [73]

Alcott's "Orphic Sayings," which were "an amazement to the uninitiated and an amusement to the profane" [74] readers of *The Dial,* find a counterpart in Clarke's translations from Goethe, also entitled "Orphic Sayings." [75] In view of the poems of Very to be found in both periodicals, and the numerous essays inspired by the most unmitigated type of transcendentalism, a relationship in regard to the mystical character of the two magazines was inevitable.[76]

The Dial has long been regarded as a pioneer journal in presenting the ancient Oriental literatures to American readers. But even in this respect *The Western Messenger* was earlier in the field. Thoreau's "Ethnical Scriptures" [77] and "Sayings of Confucius" [78] find earlier counterparts in the selections from "Sadi," published in 1837,[79] and "Chinese Rules of Conduct," printed two years later.[80]

In the era of Romantic expansiveness, with its turmoil of socialism, abolition, and Fourierism, no figure stood out more prominently before the eyes of the educated public in America than the singular Orestes A. Brownson, whose *Boston Quarterly Review* aroused discussion, and opposition, in the pages of most of its fellow journals. Although a member of the group who founded *The Dial,* his combativeness of disposition had made him *de trop* with "Hedge's Club," so that his proposals that his own magazine be made the organ of the new movement were rejected.[81] Nevertheless, *The Dial* and *The Western Messenger* rallied to his defense when his rabid economic views and theological vagaries induced attack. For the first volume of *The Dial* George Ripley wrote an essay on "Brownson's Writings," in which he referred to the man

[73] *Journals,* V, 471.
[74] Frothingham, *op. cit.,* 133.
[75] Cf. *Dial,* I, 85 and *W. M.,* II, 59.
[76] See, for example, *Dial,* II, 382 and III, 406.
[77] *Dial,* IV, 205 and elsewhere.
[78] *Ibid.,* III, 493.
[79] *W. M.,* III, 806, 814, and 826.
[80] *Ibid.,* VI, 389-390.
[81] T. W. Higginson, *op. cit.,* 148.

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as "a writer whose native force of mind, combined with rare philosophical attainments, has elevated him to a prominent rank among the living authors of this country." [82]

The Western Messenger not only espoused his cause to such an extent that subscribers were thereby lost, but printed many of his articles and letters. Indeed, it may well be said that not even Emerson or Dr. Channing occupied the attention of the writers of the magazine more than he.[83] The reader of its pages does not have far to seek to find an essay reprinted from his *Review,* or a discussion of his position in regard to the various problems of the day. The opinion that he entertained of *The Messenger* is indicated by the following excerpt from a letter to Clarke, dated January 18, 1837:

> I place it [*The Western Messenger*] among the best, ablest conducted and most useful of our American periodicals, and bespeak for it the support of every one who loves God and Humanity, or religion and his country. It must be a blessing to the West and to the—East.[84]

No more outstanding similarity in the contents of the two magazines is to be observed than in their criticism and translation of German literature. The importance of *The Dial* in this regard is too well known to require comment; and, as for *The Messenger,* the fact that it devoted many of its pages to the works of German writers at so early a date gives it a place unique among the periodicals of the West. In 1836 Clarke began to print his translation of De Wette,[85] which later was included in George Ripley's "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature." From time to time throughout subsequent issues, portions of the works of Goethe, Schiller, Richter, Herder, Uhland, and others were brought out. A student of the relationship between American periodicals and the literature of Germany makes the following comment upon the magazine:

> *The Western Messenger* contains a large number of favorable criticisms and original translations, many from the pen of Mr. Clarke himself, and

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[82] *Dial,* I, 22.

[83] For Brownson's connections with *The Western Messenger,* see III, 529-539, 601, 618; V, 104; VII, 67; VIII, 316-330, 420, 433-449.

[84] Quoted in *W. M.,* III, 601.

[85] G. W. Cooke, *op. cit.,* 244: "In 1841 he [Clarke] translated De Wette's 'Theodore' for Ripley's 'Specimens'." This, of course, was the

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is particularly worthy of notice, in that it is one of the first western journals to take an active part in the discussion of a question which at that time was attracting so much attention in New England.[86]

The similarities in the contents of the two publications could be carried out into further detail. The department of *The Messenger* entitled "Monthly Record," for example, became the "Record of the Months" in *The Dial*. Thoreau's articles on Natural History find parallels in such essays as W. B. Powell's "Geology of the Mississippi," and the sketches of Mann Butler.[87] *The Dial* even obtained Keats's "Remarks on John Milton . . . Written in the Fly-Leaf of 'Paradise Lost,'" through the interest of James Freeman Clarke, who had previously been permitted by the poet's brother to copy them from the volume in question.[88]

Suffice it to say, in conclusion, that, in view of their kindred origin and purpose, and the identity of so many contributors, it is but natural to find such a striking sameness in the contents of the two magazines. The reader of *The Dial* and *The Western Messenger* finds scarcely any type of material which is not common to both journals. The chief exception is made by Thoreau's translations from Pindar, Anacreon, and Aeschylus, which have no counterpart in the Middle Western publication.

The results of this investigation seem to indicate that *The Western Messenger* had an influence on *The Dial* that is altogether noteworthy and important. It appears that the Boston periodical has often been regarded as *the* organ of transcendentalism rather than as *an* organ of the movement. Nothing is further removed from fact than such a categorical statement as that of G. W. Curtis, who, speaking of *The Dial*, affirmed: "There had been nothing like it in this country."[89] Of course, the student of the journalistic expression of American Romanticism must view that magazine in its proper perspective, along with similar publications, particularly *The Western Messenger* and *The Boston Quarterly Review*.

Moreover, it is apparent that the literary apprenticeship of some

date of its publication by Ripley. For the significance of the "Specimens" see Frothingham, *op. cit.*, 116.

[86] S. H. Goodnight, "German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846," *Bulletin of U. of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1907, 51.

[87] *W. M.*, III, 552. Cf. also *ibid.*, V, 384. [88] *Dial*, III, 500-504.

[89] "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the *Dial*," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XVI, 330.

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of the chief writers of the period has not received the attention which this study seems to justify. The poetical activity of C. P. Cranch, or the earlier critiques written by Margaret Fuller, for example, might well be viewed in connection with the rise of Unitarian journalism in the West.

Then, too, it may perhaps be maintained that there was such a thing as transcendentalism outside of New England, despite the prevalent contrary opinion. In a sense, it is perfectly just to consider *The Western Messenger* as a graft on Eastern stock; but the fact that its editors sought to develop the latent literary possibilities of the Ohio Valley implies an interest in American letters beyond mere sectionalism.

The Western Messenger is eminently worthy of the attention of one who wishes to learn just what was the best contemporary opinion of the "New School" and its leaders. Its editors and chief contributors had not only the inestimable advantage of an intimate acquaintance with the men most active in the East, but also the opportunity of gaining an objective view of their accomplishments by a remoteness from the scene of affairs. No better illustration of the soundness of judgment manifested by the writers for *The Messenger* could be had than the following excerpt from a criticism of *The Dial* for October, 1840:

> Thus far, to speak frankly, we do not think that they [the contributors to *The Dial*] have shown the power they possess. The articles in the number before us, if we except two or three, will, we think, do little good. However, we know that among the writers for this work are some dozen of the purest, clearest, and truest minds in the land, and such as will be felt and felt deeply. We wish them all success.[90]

Finally, if it is true that "the transcendental movement yet remains the most important influence that has affected American literature,"[91] a study of its early development in the West is of some value, particularly in view of its great influence upon the East. As early as 1836 *The Western Messenger* had close to one hundred subscribers in New England alone,[92] while *The Dial's* subscription list at no time reached three hundred names all told.[93]

New York City.

[90] *W. M.*, VIII, 303.

[91] G. W. Cooke, *The Poets of Transcendentalism*, 1903, Introduction, 3.

[92] *W. M.*, II, 352.

[93] G. W. Cooke, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XVIIII, 229.

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WORDSWORTH IN AMERICA [1]

By Norman Foerster

As a contribution to the understanding of both American literature and the history of the Romantic Movement as a whole, we have long needed a good book on the reception and influence of Wordsworth's poetry in the United States. This is not the book. In publishing her doctoral dissertation, Miss Newton (like many another "product" of our graduate schools) has revealed not only her own immaturity but also, it seems to me, serious shortcomings in our universities for which she can scarcely be held responsible. On this account I wish to discuss her book in some detail.

The materials rightly selected as centrally important are as follows: (1) Editions of Wordsworth's poems published in the United States from 1800 to 1860. These are listed, with brief comments. The contents of the edition of 1824, which appears to have been pivotal, should have been given in an appendix. (2) Criticisms of Wordsworth in the essays and magazines of the period. The number of magazines, listed in the bibliography, is sufficient. (3) Quotations from Wordsworth's poems in the annuals and readers. (4) Various documents of leading American poets—journals, notebooks, letters, poems, and essays. Secondary materials, and not always the best, have been used too often, as in the whole of Chapter II, and especially in the account of Poe in Chapter IV, pp. 139-42 (given as 139-45 in the index). Despite the importance of Poe in American criticism, there is no indication that any complete edition of his works was consulted; none is mentioned, in text or bibliography, although Ingram's *Life* is. (For quotations from Poe's "Letter to B——," Miss Newton apparently relies on Ingram, instead of going to the *Poems* of 1831, or the 1831 text in Stedman and Woodberry, Vol. X, or the 1836 text in the Virginia Edition, Vol. VII, or the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1836, which is unaccountably absent from the bibliography.)

The leading conclusion reached after an investigation of these materials is not likely to be centrally shaken by further study.

[1] A review of Annabel Newton, *Wordsworth in Early American Criticism*. University of Chicago Press, 1928.

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That conclusion is that prior to 1824 Wordsworth's poetry was neglected or regarded with indifference in America; that interest in it increased after 1824; and that this interest reached a high degree between 1850 and 1860. Closing her study at 1860, the author has not indicated whether this interest also reached its *highest* degree in that decade.

The demonstration may be briefly represented as follows. Chapter I surveys the "basic materials" listed above. Chapter II offers "a review of American culture during the first half of the nineteenth century." First, "the temperament of the people" is characterized as a complex of "proneness to excitement"; "addiction to sentimentality"—"an exaggerated sentiment associated with the familiar and homely"; "a profound moral and religious sentiment"—"Puritanic prudery" and "a Victorian attitude"; "simplicity"—"These people were honest, frugal, and industrious"; "worth of the 'common man'"—"faith in the individual" or "self-reliance." Secondly, "the increase in literary culture in this country" is indicated through increase in libraries, the publication of sets of books, the development of high schools, *The Lowell Offering* as an instance of culture in the laboring classes, and popular lectures. Chapter III endeavors to account for the unfriendly attitude prior to 1824 by pointing to the interest in the exciting, in sentimentalism, and in eighteenth-century classicism, and to the respect for the hostile attitude towards Wordsworth on the part of Byron and the British press. Chapter IV, on "The Period of Transition" (1824-50), finds the causes of the new attitude "in the death of Byron, in America's nature setting, the influence of Bryant's poetry, and in certain qualities in Wordsworth's poetry which met a corresponding response in the American temperament of the period." Finally, Chapter V, on "The Period of Full Appreciation" (1850-60), traces the further developments of the favorable attitude.

In presenting this demonstration, the author unfortunately betrays a low mental tone. Sober indulgence in platitude begins with the first sentence of the preface. A loose use of language begins with the sixth sentence; subsequently we are told that "there was . . . indications" and that "Bliss Perry writes that he had to 'clear his own land, harvest his own crops, defend his own fireside.'" A want of taste and tact is revealed by the characterization

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of Wordsworth's treatment of nature as "soulful." Immature judgment results in the free use of extraneous matter (*e. g.*, the paragraph on Wordsworth's favorite authors, p. 169). Insecurity of mental grasp permeates the book, but may be instanced by the wavering emphasis upon Wordsworth's own poetry as a factor in his popularity (pp. 3, 192). Several of these weaknesses, along with inconsistency in mechanical form, may be exemplified by a passage on p. 72:

> **He exhorted his sister**
>
> **". . . with gentle hand**
> **Touch for there is a spirit in the woods."**
>
> **Throughout "Three years she grew in Sun and Shower" the spirit of Nature exerts a formative power upon Lucy. This spiritual power in Nature and in woman penetrates such poems as "It Is a Beauteous Evening Calm and Free," the "Highland Girl," and "She Was a Phantom of Delight." A mysticism characterizes the cuckoo.**

Here, the quotation from Wordsworth and one of the titles of his poems are incorrectly punctuated; the capitalization of titles is inconsistent; the title "Highland Girl" should be "To a Highland Girl"; and the entire passage wants taste and firm thought, above all in the ruinous last sentence.

Though misprints are few, obvious slips are more numerous: *e. g.*, "Mr. Woodward" (p. 56) for Mr. Woodberry, "Kirk White" (p. 88) for Kirke White, "Spencer" (p. 177) for Spenser (corrected in the index), "1926" (p. 113) for 1826.[2] The bibliography of magazines omits the *Western Messenger*, though it is quoted in the text (p. 120). The index is far from complete, not giving, even, all the proper names and titles (*e. g.*, Blair, White, "Lines Written in Early Spring"); it is obviously selective, but the basis of selection is not stated, and one can only hope that chance is excluded.

There are errors in fact. Thus, Fred Lewis Pattee is credited with a quotation that he actually quoted from somebody else (p. 20). Barrett Wendell is quoted (p. 34, note), inferentially with approval, to the effect that Emerson had never seen a ballet

[2] **Other examples of faulty proof-reading are given in a rather casual review of the book in the (London)** *Times Literary Supplement*, **June 21, 1928, with the remark that "blots like these are inexcusable in a small volume of 210 pages."**

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before he saw Elssler in 1841; the fact is that in Italy in 1833 Emerson repeatedly attended the opera, and he commented on the ballet in his *Journals* (III, 113) of that year. More significant is an error in regard to the relation of Lowell's lectures of 1854 and his published collections of essays. I know of no ground for the assertion that these lectures were later "published in collections of essays—*My Study Windows, Among My Books,* and, in the final edition, [punctuation *sic*] of Lowell's works, as *Literary Essays*" (p. 185). The facts are available in the lives by Greenslet (p. 110, note) and Scudder (I, 373-75) and in *The Function of the Poet* (pp. 33-35). Incidentally, on p. 187, Miss Newton dates *Literary Studies* as published in 1854, when she means (one hopes) that a certain essay in Volume I was written in that year. Obviously, errors in fact regarding Lowell are important when one regards him as "the greatest American critic of the nineteenth century" and "a great admirer of the English poet" (pp. 187, 188).

Coming upon such slips as I have indicated, the reader naturally acquires an uncomfortable sense of insecurity. And this is deepened when he considers the method, the point of view, and the generalizations that determine the intellectual structure of the book. The method is mechanical. Thus, after writing a whole chapter on the state of American culture, the author lays her observations side by side with Wordsworth's poetry and states her conclusions, without really establishing a relation of cause and effect. The point of view is not a single one, but a congeries of points of view (so to speak) that never fuses into unity. Consequently, though the reader is asked to note this, that, and the other factor in Wordsworth's reputation, the relative significance of the various factors wavers to the end. Among the generalizations of the book, furthermore, these factors are especially dubious.

One of these factors is "the craving for the exciting and sensational" in literature, illustrated by the popularity of Mrs. Radcliffe, which is mechanically regarded as "a reflection" of the "proneness to excitement" in the American people. Was the popularity of Mrs. Radcliffe in England also a reflection of the temperament of the American people? Miss Newton never seriously concerns herself with what was going on in Europe, and by artificially limiting her universe of discourse fails to attain fundamental generalizations. Is it true, again, that this craving for

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the exciting in literature "is always antagonistic to the interests of Wordsworth?" Much of Wordsworth's own earlier work, which presumably appeared in the American edition of 1824, is manifestly related to terror literature, and there is besides no doubt that the Gothic mood in the eighteenth century helped to bring on the more romantic mood of Scott and Byron (as is conceded on p. 80) and Coleridge. Miss Newton does not adequately sense the continuity, or inner logic, of the Romantic Movement. Another of her factors is sentimentalism, which she deals with repeatedly but never with decision. As it appears in the American temperament, it is associated with "the familiar and homely" (p. 34). We might expect it, then, to be favorable to the extension of Wordsworth's vogue; yet on p. 45 we are told that it "was an important factor in retarding the progress of appreciation of Wordsworth's work in America." On p. 85 we learn that Wordsworth abhorred "sickly sentimentality," that his own sentimentalism was of a special brand through his acceptance of the sentimental morality that regards pity as a moral force, and that his sentimentalism "appealed to the sentimental tastes of America and was an aid to his popularity." Finally we are informed on p. 117 that what America liked in Wordsworth was *not* his sentimental morality "but the stories themselves by which the pity was evoked"—presumably because they fed the sickly sentimentality of the age. The subject is thus discussed four times, always briefly, and, so far as I can determine, inconsistently. As in the case of the Gothic factor, the relation between the American and the English situation is imperfectly perceived, and one feels the want of an historical sense, above all, in the artificial severance of "sickly sentimentality" and "sentimental morality," which may be distinguished but not divorced. Once more: conceiving of the "delight in graveyard poetry" as "an aspect of sentimentalism" (p. 87), Miss Newton concludes that this delight must have militated against the vogue of Wordsworth. In so doing, she fails to allow for the fact that the graveyard school was also interested in nature and humble humanity and helped to habituate readers to the poetic treatment of nature and humble humanity. Her study of Bryant, whose service to the cause of Wordsworth she estimates highly, should have reminded her of the transition from mortuary verse to an exalted appreciation of nature.

In regard to this new quest of nature's meaning, Miss Newton

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involves herself in fresh difficulties. Wordsworth's feeling for nature, she assumes with justice, was ill calculated to attract pioneers "intent on subduing a wilderness to cultivation" (p. 73); but Americans of the early nineteenth century cannot be conceived merely as workers with the axe and plough. If Americans were a "pioneer people" "absorbed in the practical affairs of life," why did they read at all? And why did they read with pleasure (as Miss Newton concedes they did, in the same paragraph) the artificial poetry of Pope and the romantic poetry of Scott and Byron? The axe and plough argument failing, we may next consider the argument that Wordsworth, unlike the popular poets, was given to "mysticism." Was mysticism a reason for shunning Wordsworth? Perhaps it was; certainly the matter must be carefully argued. Have not other aspects of Wordsworth's poetry made his poetry attractive to those who do not share his religious feeling? Or might we not expect American readers to have availed themselves, as Bryant did, of that "profound moral and religious sentiment" which they had inherited from Puritanism and which would seem to have been a natural preparation for interest in Wordsworth? If Milton was accepted in America as "the most sublime and elevated of all poets" and if "nothing in Milton is more sublime than Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty'" (p. 73), American readers might have admired many poems of Wordsworth that have since appealed, as Miss Newton herself shows, to those inclined to orthodoxy in religion. One must question, again, her assertion that the American landscape itself was destined to influence "the ultimate favorable reception of Wordsworth in this country" (p. 177). Logically, nature might have remained for centuries, or forever, little more than a *setting* for life and literature; what brought it into the American consciousness, what fused it with life and literature at a particular time, was a whole host of intellectual and aesthetic influences from abroad, an incoming wave after wave of naturistic thought and feeling—in a word, the Romantic Movement.

The RomanticMovement, indeed, as a reader of this book might easily fail to realize, is the key to the place of Wordsworth in Early American Criticism. It was the whole course of that movement or revolution that determined the ultimate favorable reception of

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Wordsworth in this country, and not any such miscellaneous assemblage of factors,

> in disconnection dead and spiritless,

as is given on p. 107, to wit:

> The reasons for an advance of Wordsworth's interest in this country [sic], aside from the progress made in literary culture, may be found in the death of Byron, in America's nature setting, the influence of Bryant's poetry, and in certain qualities in Wordsworth's poetry which met a corresponding response in the American temperament of the period.

Whatever part these factors played, each of them bulks too large when one ignores the great central stream of influence. Take the death of Byron, for example. Byron, it seems, was in Wordsworth's way, and when, soon after his death, his furious vogue waned, Wordsworth, it seems, was bound to have a better chance. But was it death that ended Byron's vogue? The death of Shelley and of Keats did not end whatever vogue they enjoyed, nor did Wordsworth's death in 1850. What happened was that Byron's vogue did fade, and that readers were turning elsewhere—But why to Wordsworth? Because of the death of Byron? No, because the American Romantic Movement had reached a point, in its gradual unfolding, where it was ready for Wordsworth. Miss Newton apparently glimpses this truth in two little sentences that play no clear rôle in her book: "The poetry of passion and sense was gradually giving away to that of thought and genuine sentiment. A revolution in taste had been effected" (p. 109). Behind this revolution lies a far greater one, the triumph of romanticism. Now, I am not arguing for the sanctity of this much abused term, but clearly one must employ either this term or another to symbolize the unity in variety among the almost innumerable foreign influences that virtually moulded American literature in the late eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century, and that virtually determined, incidentally, the course of Wordsworth's fortunes in America as well as in England. The Romantic Movement in its entirety, including certain Continental aspects, and studied with due regard for conditions that might be peculiar to America, should have supplied the rationale of this book. In its earlier progress it would have led the author to deism, for example, as a view of life in many ways preparatory to that of Wordsworth, but deism is one of the

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absentee landlords in the domain of this book. Or, to turn to the later progress of the movement, one misses any mention of the work of Coleridge in the propagation of Wordsworth's popularity, or of the influence of the neoplatonic and German thought that Coleridge infused into the poetry, the criticism, and the public of his time and that lent support to the naturistic idealism of Wordsworth's readers. To sever Wordsworth from Coleridge, as Miss Newton has done, is always perilous, as a single instance will suffice to show, the case of Emerson.

The case is crucial, in the light of Miss Newton's acceptance of Emerson as "the American Wordsworth" (p. 150). Among all the New England poets, Emerson, it is asserted, "most nearly possessed something like the indomitable mind of Wordsworth [Emerson's mind was far more indomitable, in my view], and, too, was endowed with Wordsworth's mystical insight into Nature, which is lacking to any great extent in the poetry of the other American writers" (p. 152). Like John B. Moore in his paper on "Emerson on Wordsworth," Miss Newton traces the shift in Emerson from hostility towards Wordsworth to warm admiration, though she omits Emerson's estimate of Wordsworth as the most original and imaginative poet since Milton. What influences brought Emerson to this high estimate? The main influence Miss Newton, like Professor Brooks, has not come upon: it is the influence of Coleridge, it is *The Friend* and *Biographia Literaria* that caused Emerson to return to Wordsworth with new eyes and heart and mind. This was amply proved, I think, in a dissertation by Frank T. Thompson on "Emerson's Debt to Coleridge, Carlyle, and Wordsworth"—the order of names indicates the order of influence.[3] One cannot but wonder what the place of Coleridge may be in the American reception of Wordsworth, not only indirectly through Emerson, but, even more, directly upon many other readers of the famous chapters on Wordsworth in *Biographia Literaria*. Although Miss Newton has touched upon the effect in America of British criticism of Wordsworth, she has omitted what may well be the central case. What was the vogue

[3] Mr. Thompson has recently published an article growing out of this dissertation, "Emerson's Theory and Practice of Poetry" (*PMLA.*, December, 1928), which deals with the influence of Wordsworth and of Coleridge as two aspects of one problem.

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of *Biographia Literaria,* and of Coleridge in general? She says nothing of either, despite the fact that the fortunes of the two poets were definitely linked in America from the year of the publication of an American edition of *Lyrical Ballads* only four years after the first English edition. This is more important than the "aesthetic [sic] excitement . . . furnished by dinners, balls, fairs, processions" and Mr. Meade Minnegerode's intriguing details anent Fanny Elssler's dancing and her anatomy. A single paragraph, for that matter, would have been sufficient for all that is really relevant in the ambitious chapter on the state of American Culture. However important the function of social history in the *mind* of the literary historian, where it should exert an influence upon all that he writes, there is scant justification for it in his pages, above all when it crowds out essential considerations of a literary character. There is an increasing tendency in recent books and dissertations to wander from literary into general history, and in a zeal for "background" to neglect prominent features in the foreground.

We still need, then, a good book on the subject of Wordsworth's American reputation and influence. When it is written, it will be found to deal adequately with the following topics: (1) The factors in Wordsworth's reputation in Great Britain. (This will involve the progress of the Romantic Movement.) (2) The history of Wordsworth's British reputation. (Miss Newton remarks on p. 190 that the interest in Wordsworth in America "became as great as that in his own country," and on p. 192 quotes without comment an assertion that "the influence of Wordsworth's poetry has been more general than in England." Aside from the conflict between the two remarks, they mean nothing without a clear understanding of the situation in England.) (3) The factors in Wordsworth's reception in America. (Which of the English factors, above, apply here also, and in addition what are the peculiarly American factors?) (4) The history of Wordsworth's reputation in America. (This is the only topic that receives anything approaching effective discussion in the present dissertation.) (5) American opinion on certain aspects of Wordsworth and on certain poems. (There were several Wordsworths—how did each fare? This could be illustrated by separate discussion of selected poems, such as "Tintern Abbey," some of the simple lyrics, the great "Ode," "The Excursion.") (6) The influence of Wordsworth upon American literature. (This

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is a large and difficult topic, but without it a study of reputation remains comparatively barren.)

Plainly, all that Miss Newton has accomplished in her book could have been accomplished in a short article, which might have been a good article, whereas this is not a good book. Its faults are, fundamentally, those of haste and inexperience and immaturity, which the passage of time and the exertion of devoted effort might have largely corrected. Whether its faults are less or greater than those of other dissertations offered as books in the various branches of modern literature, is not here in question. What is in question is, whether the cause of scholarship is ever advanced by the early publication of doctoral dissertations, whether in all cases they should be held for a period of ten years, or the Horatian nine, until the author has had time enough to outgrow the crudities of youth. If the worldly cry is raised that someone else may anticipate the author's findings, the worldly answer must be that the world is interested in results rather than in agents. As for the agents, their own advantage will in the end be served best if they refrain from publication till the structure they have built has been made solid.

This is not always apparent, naturally, to the young scholar. All the more should it be clear to those who, in the graduate schools and the university presses, in large measure control the destiny of the young scholar, and to whom the young scholar must look for the standards of solid achievement that should govern publication. In permitting premature publication, as well as in other ways that cannot be dealt with here, we are betraying serious inadequacies in our conception both of education and of scholarship. Though higher education is by definition aristocratic not democratic, qualitative not quantitative, we are in fact paradoxically and prevailingly interested in numbers, and frequently indulge a slipshod haste in our reading of dissertations together with low standards of accuracy and thoroughness in approving the work of candidates for the "highest" degree. This is serious enough. More serious still is the inadequacy of our prevailing conception of scholarship. In our exaggerated emphasis on mechanical technique, in our failure to perceive that thoroughness demands more than this technique, in our blindness to the need of discipline in taste, imaginative insight, and critical acuteness and breadth, in the rareness of such qualities as reflection, poise, proportion, and sanity, in the

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sterility of general ideas that renders much of our instruction external and phenomenal, in the absorption in time and relativity that causes us to confuse literature with literary history and literary history with history, in the undertone of futility which often betrays a romantic purposelessness in place of a clear-minded dedication to the humanities, in the recurrent note of cant in our enthusiasm for contributions to the sum of knowledge, above all, perhaps, in the cheap worship of success and pursuit of the new and sensational, American scholarship is reflecting the contemporary paradox of strenuous production in the outer world of action accompanied with disintegration in the inner realm of thought.

I am not speaking of particular persons or particular institutions; I am speaking of a national system which has lost vitality and conviction, and of which Miss Annabel Newton is not so much an example as a victim.

The University of North Carolina.

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THE JUVENILE VERSE OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

By TREMAINE MCDOWELL

In boyhood a devout believer in the literal fulfillment of prayer, Cullen Bryant was accustomed to address the Deity with supplications that he might "receive the gift of poetic genius, and write verses that might endure."[1] Exactly when he first attempted to answer his own prayers is not clear. In 1827, Bryant stated that he had been "an apprentice in the trade of verse from nine years old;"[2] in 1875, he set the date back into his ninth year;[3] and in 1877, he moved it into his eighth year.[4] It is probable, however, that the middle date, 1803, marked the appearance of his first metrical attempts.[5] Of the verses written between that date and the composition of the first version of "Thanatopsis" in 1811, several have not hitherto been printed and none was ever included in Bryant's collected works. These *juvenilia* nevertheless repay study, for they reveal the youthful poet's development through five distinct stages: the religious, the satirical, the pastoral, the political, and the classical. Not only did these experiments teach Bryant much concerning the technique of verse, but they also centered his thought on the major themes which were to occupy him in maturity.

I

In the earliest verses of which anything is now certainly known, Cullen Bryant appeared as the disciple of the muse of religious poetry, or rather of her terrestrial advocate, Grandfather Ebenezer Snell. When Cullen was ten years old,[6] he wrote for Deacon Snell an eighty-eight line paraphrase of the first chapter of Job,[7] an

[1] "An Autobiography of Mr. Bryant's Early Life," in Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant*. New York, 1883. I, 1-37.

[2] Letter to R. H. Dana, June 1, 1827," quoted in Godwin, I, 234.

[3] "Autobiography," I, 22.

[4] Letter to George Stuart, cited in Godwin, I, 68.

[5] These earliest poems, apparently, are not extant; since they contained much that Bryant later called "utter nonsense" ("Autobiography," I, 22), the loss is perhaps not serious.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The poem was described in Catalogue of Sale 725, Anderson Auction

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achievement which the Deacon rewarded with a nine-penny coin.[8] In the spring of 1804, Cullen recited at school his first lines which appeared in print: "A Poem. Composed by a lad of 12 years old to be exhibited at the close of the winter school, in presence of the Master, the Minister of the Parish, and a number of private Gentlemen."[9] In these verses, never reprinted in entirety, he reviewed in ambitious fashion the progress of American education from 1775 to 1804. He next paid his respects to Schoolmaster Wiswell Briggs and to the assembled gentlemen, among whom were probably such local dignitaries as state representatives Ebenezer Snell and Doctor Peter Bryant, the boy's father. After thanking Heaven for the improvement made by the pupils in their studies, the young orator addressed a pious valedictory to his mates:

> My comrades! tho' we're not a num'rous train,
> 'Tis doubtful whether, we shall meet again;
> For death's cold hand may aim th' un erring [*sic*] blow,
> And lay, with heavy stroke, the victim low;
> From this frail state, th' unbodi'd soul will fly,
> And sink to Hell, or soar above the sky.
> Then let us tread, as lowly Jesus trod,
> The path that leads the sinner to his God;
> Keep Heaven's bright mansions ever in our eyes,
> Press tow'rds the mark and seize the glorious prize.

During the same year, the devout child composed a fifty-six line paraphrase of Psalm 104[10] and a version of David's lament over Jonathan, based on II Samuel, 1, 19-27.[11]

The influence of Deacon Snell continued as late as the year 1806.

Company of New York, February 15, 16, 1909. The purchaser was a dealer who kept no record of his disposal of the manuscript. Only the first ten lines have been printed (see Godwin, I, 22, footnote).

[8] "Autobiography," I, 22.

[9] *Hampshire Gazette*, March 18, 1807. Bryant dated the poem, "spring of 1804, when I was ten years old" ("Autobiography," I, 23); however, he was at that time nine, rather than ten years of age.

[10] *Idem*, I, 22. Godwin states (I, 76) that this poem has never been recovered. A copy made by Charity Bryant was offered in Sale Number 725 of the Anderson Auction Company. The purchaser was a dealer who preserved no record of his disposal of the manuscript.

[11] The entire thirty lines are printed in Godwin, I, 76, footnote. A revision in couplets appeared in the *Hampshire Gazette*, May 16, 1810, and a second rimed version in the *Pittsfield Sun*, November 4, 1818.

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In June, there occurred a spectacular total eclipse of the sun; immediately after the event, Cullen composed a poem of thirty-two lines, "On the late Eclipse," which indicated that the boy was deeply moved by the phenomenon:

> The late Eclipse was an occurrence rare,
> As ever visited the fields of air.
> How awfully sublime, and grand to see,
> The lamp of day, wrapt in Obscurity!
> To see the Sun remove behind the moon,
> And nightlike darkness shroud the day at noon,
> The birds no longer felt his genial ray,
> But sat in mournful silence on the spray.
> A solem [*sic*] gloom and stillness spreads around,
> Reignd [*sic*], in the air and brooded o'er the ground.[18]

There is no record that the grandfather on this occasion gave the composer any financial reward, but it is certain that he approved of the poem. Even more to his liking must have been certain lines written in the same year on his favored topic, the Judgment Day. Composed while the eclipse was still vivid in Cullen's memory, the lines evidence his familiarity with the Bible, Milton, and the eighteenth century poets, as well as with external nature; they likewise reveal the emotional intensity of his religious life. No extracts from "On the last Judgment" have heretofore been printed.

> Begin O, muse! and sing the end of Time
> A theme tremendous, awful, and sublime,
> No more the darkend [*sic*], Sun shall cause the day,
> No more the stars their twinkling beams display,
> No more the moon her silver brightness wears,
> But red as crimson to the eye appears.
> Primeval Night her empire now resumes,
> Midst countless horrors and attendant glooms.
> The thunder rolls in hor[rid] peals on high,
> In forky lines the livid lightnings fly.

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[18] Manuscript in the possession of Thomas F. Madigan, of New York. This is the earliest known manuscript in Bryant's hand. Comparison with a version of the poem printed in Godwin, I, 25, 26, footnote, as "Written by W. C. Bryant, just after the great total Eclipse of the Sun, in the summer of the year 1806—in his twelfth year," indicates that the manuscript is an early draft, probably composed by the boy without assistance. The version printed by Godwin has apparently been revised by a more mature versifier.

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From east to west a dreadfull [*sic*] chasm is made,
Flames issue forth and glimmer through the shade.
The judge Supreme unutterably great!
Decends [*sic*] in all the pomp of Godlike state.
His Voice is thunder, and his robes are light,
His sceptre Judgement, and his arm is might!
Ten thousand thousand saints compass him round,
And sing his praise with harps of sweetest sound,
Effulgent glories cincture round his head,
His awful voice reanimates the Dead!
Rise come to Judgement sounds the last alarm!
Who can withstand his all subduing arm.

* * * * * * *

But vain is flight Gods [*sic*] omnipresent hand,
Brings to his awful bar the scatter'd band!
The ungodly there recieve [*sic*] the just decree
Their doom, their sentence for eternity.[13]

The poet is said to have composed in 1806 a third devotional poem, on the death of a cousin.[14]

That the first seven of Bryant's poems of which the themes are known were written under religious inspiration demonstrates the potency of his environment. The orthodoxy of all seven reveals, furthermore, that, up to 1806, Peter Bryant's latitudinarianism in theology had not touched his son, nor had the Unitarian heresies of the Reverend Joseph S. Buckminster and the Reverend Ellery Channing yet influenced the young poet.

II

Cullen meanwhile entered his second phase. Among Bryant's memories of these years was a recollection of employing his verse as a weapon: "I wrote," he stated, "various lampoons on my schoolfellows and others."[15] These lampoons have dropped from sight; but two replies have survived. These are crude compositions not of a schoolmate but of Jacob Porter, Cullen's senior by

[13] Manuscript, in the autograph of Charity Bryant, the poet's aunt, in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino. The copy is dated Cummington, November 25, 1806.

[14] The poem was in the possession of J. H. Bryant in 1874; since that date, his papers have been destroyed by fire.

[15] "Autobiography," I, 23. From the context, it appears that these poems were written from 1805 to 1807.

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several years. His lines of painful doggerel, hitherto unpublished, throw into relief the slender, but genuine, merits of Cullen's apprentice verses. In the first effusion, Jacob contented himself with violent threats:

> Step forward with poetic cap on,
> Which I shall tear, in heat of action;
> Don't spatter, Cullen, (how you scare us,)
> The muddy puddle of Pierus.

Jacob then made it clear that the boy, like his master, Alexander Pope, had successfully supplemented his limited physical powers by drawing on the resources of satire:

> Won't you chuse some other process
> Kicking shins or breaking noses?
> I'd rather yield up, as they all did,
> Than be by such hot water scalded.

Jacob's last couplet gives plaintive evidence of his opponent's skill with the lash:

> I once had courage, but I say now,
> I will take shelter in a haymow! [16]

The second verse-epistle shows that the first had highly enraged its recipient; Cullen in hot wrath destroyed his antagonist's "witty lays." The young poet, according to Jacob, could endure no rival:

> Wherever real merit's found,
> He flings his pointless satyre round,
> And spouting loudly, then rehearses
> The dirty nonsense of his verses.[17]

A similar exchange of abuse was apparently carried on by young Bryant and an acquaintance named Robinson, who dealt with the subject of Cullen's birth.[18] It is possible, also, that his debate with

[16] Manuscript in the Yale University Library.
[17] Manuscript in the Yale University Library.
[18] Jacob wrote in his second poem:

> Now as the public have before 'em
> Your birth related in a poem,
> Of which three pretty neat editions
> Have been struck of within six weeks since

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a future member of the Indiana legislature [19] was likewise carried on in rime. Cullen was evidently prosecuting at one time the two diverse activities of glorifying his Creator and vilifying his contemporaries.

III

Before the youthful poet had entirely passed out of this period of personal invective, he entered his pastoral stage. In or prior to December, 1806, he produced a twenty-four line poem, "The Seasons;" and by January, 1807, he had produced a poem of fifty-two lines, "The Thunderstorm." [20] These were followed in 1807 and 1808 by three more compositions on nature, published in 1809 in the second edition of *The Embargo* but never reprinted. "Drought" expressed sincere distress for the devastation of his beloved haunts about the homestead, all conveyed in colorless poetic diction:

> Sirius burns the parching meadows,
> Flames upon th' embrowning hill;
> Dries the foliage of the forest,
> And evaporates the rill.
>
> Scarce is seen a lonely floweret,
> Save amid th' embowering wood;
> O'er the prospect dim and dreary,
> Drought presides in sullen mood! " [21]

By 1808, Cullen had acquired a respect for Latin poetry, without losing devotion to Pope, and had added a few Latinisms to his vocabulary. Apparently, he had also seen the Connecticut river, perhaps at Northampton, twenty miles to the eastward, possibly from the deck of a boat on the river. Thus, the second of these

> I'll leave that as it has been sung
> By the illustrious Robinson.

"Robinson" escapes identification. The three "editions" were, of course, merely manuscript copies.

[19] W. C. Bryant, "Boys of My Boyhood," in *St. Nicholas Magazine*, IV, 103 (December, 1876).

[20] A copy of "The Seasons" and of "The Thunderstorm," made by Charity Bryant, dated December 26, 1806, and January 6, 1807, respectively, were offered in Sale 725, Anderson Auction Company. The purchaser was a dealer who kept no record of the disposal of the manuscripts. Neither poem has been published.

[21] *The Embargo . . . and Other Poems.* Boston, 1809. P. 35.

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three pastorals, "Ode to Connecticut River," was a remarkable confection. His mannerisms as well as his masters appear in these couplets:

> Could I thy charms, celebrious stream, rehearse,
> In glowing numbers and exalted verse;
> Me, did the Muse of poesy inspire,
> With Maro's strains, or Pope's celestial fire;
> Like the rough Tiber, or the gentler Thame,
> Should classic honours flourish round thy name.[22]

The final pastoral, "The Contented Ploughman. A Song," is a bit of precocious philosophizing. A plowboy sings six quatrains in praise of rural life, to the accompaniment of his lyre, "While oft his lingering team he cheers"—an exhibition of versatility which no one ever witnessed in Hampshire County. The young author then added a prayer that country lads may pursue "The path so luringly pourtray'd," and he envisions the result as a sanitary universe, fulfilling the ideals of his father's profession:

> "Then Vice, foul parent of disease,
> Should never root, and flourish here;
> Hygeia breathe in every breeze,
> And freshen round the flying year!"[23]

These experiments in pastoral conventions were evidently profitable to Bryant, for he never returned to the stiff and empty formality which burdens these verses.

IV

As Peter Bryant came more and more to direct his son's interests, the latter turned toward a new theme in his verses, namely, politics. The majority of the citizens of Cummington were Federalists; among their leaders was Doctor Bryant. His keen partisanship so infected Cullen that, even as a boy, he became a rabid Federalist. On February 9, 1808, there died at Worthington, General Jonathan Woodbridge, an able lawyer and a local leader in the Federalist party.[24] At the suggestion of Peter Bryant, the boy wrote, on this event, his first political poem.[25] Unlike many critics

[22] *Idem*, p. 27.

[23] *Idem*, p. 35.

[24] *Hampshire Gazette*, February 17, 1808.

[25] In "Autobiography," I, 27, Bryant gives six lines of the poem. "The rest," he states, "was very much like this" (*ibid.*).

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of his day, the father was not so biased as to value poems according to their agreement with his own political dogmas. Instead, Bryant recalled, "[he] told me it was nothing but tinsel and would not do. There were only four lines among all that I had written that he would allow to be tolerable." [26]

On December 22, 1807, the congress of the United States, on the recommendation of President Jefferson, voted an embargo on all commerce. At once arose a terrific storm of protest. In New England, self-interest re-enforced partisan animosity; and rancor was uncontrolled. Theodore Dwight in Connecticut and Fisher Ames in Massachusetts, as Federalist spokesmen, denounced the President as a Jacobin anarchist, a gross infidel, and an outrageous debauchee.[27] In New York, Washington Irving satirized him as a scientific, philosophical, and political theorist.[28] It is evident that Cullen Bryant could not hope to produce a diatribe against Thomas Jefferson surpassing in abusiveness the blasts of the leaders of his party.

Five months after the embargo was imposed, the boy tried his hand at the popular occupation of forcing the President's resignation. He had commenced to read the newspapers at the age of five; for, in 1874, he recalled reading of Bonaparte's assumption of the first consulship in November, 1799.[29] These papers were, he stated, all edited by Federalists; [30] among them were the *Hampshire Gazette* of Northampton and *The Repertory* of Boston.[31] From the enactment of the hated law in 1807 to the completion of Bryant's poem, "The Embargo," every issue of the *Gazette* and of the *Repertory* carried at least one attack on Jefferson or on his new policy. Inflamed by this excitement, Cullen on his own initiative wrote a brief apostrophe to the President, in which he concentrated a half-dozen current libels:

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Dwight, *Speech at New Haven, July 7, 1801.* Hartford, 1801. Pp. 20-21; *The Character of Thomas Jefferson.* Boston, 1839. Pp. 366, 399. Ames, *Works.* Boston, 1809. "Introduction," pp. xvii. xviii; pp. 363-378.

[28] *A History of New York.* Ed. Williams and McDowell. New York, 1927. "Introduction," pp. lix-lxxiii.

[29] Speech delivered on November 3, 1874, quoted in Godwin, II, 349.

[30] "Autobiography," I, 27.

[31] Bryant alluded to matter which he had read in *The Repertory* in *The Embargo . . . and other Poems* (1809), p. 31, footnote.

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And thou, the scorn of every patriot name,
Thy country's ruin, and her council's shame!
Poor servile thing! derision of the brave!
Who erst from Tarleton fled to Carter's cave; [32]
Thou, who, when menac'd by perfidious Gaul,
Didst prostrate to her whisker'd minion fall;
And when our cash her empty bags supplied,
Didst meanly strive the foul disgrace to hide; [33]
Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
Disclose thy secret measures foul or fair,
Go, search, with curious eye, for horned frogs,
'Mongst the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs;
Or where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme; [34]
Go scan, Philosophist, thy * * * * * * charms,
And sink supinely in her sable arms; [35]
But quit to abler hands, the helm of state,
No image ruin on thy country's fate [36]

---

[32] The allusion is to the enforced flight of Jefferson, at that time Governor of Virginia, from Monticello to Carter's Mountain before the troops of Captain McLeod, sent in 1781 by Tarleton to capture Jefferson (H. S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*. New York, 1857. I, 357, 358).

[33] Bryant refers to the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. The "cash" amounted to sixty million francs. The "whisker'd minion" is possibly M. Barbe Marbois, Napoleon's Minister of Finance, who negotiated the sale.

[34] Jefferson's interest in scientific inquiry, ranging from tabulation of the vegetable market in Washington to study of the bony structure of the moose in Maine, was the frequent butt of political satirists. (See A. J. Nock, *Jefferson*. New York, 1926. Pp. 138-150; 281-287).

[35] Various hypothetical negro paramours of the President were discussed in the public prints (see, *e. g.*, *The Port Folio*, III, 6, 22, 52, 92, 120). The visiting Irishman, Thomas Moore, perpetuated the libel in verse (*Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems*. London, 1806. Pp. 209, 210):

The weary statesman for repose has fled
From the halls of council to his negro's shed,
Where blest he woos some black Aspasia's grace,
And dreams of freedom in his slave's embrace.

Bryant's asterisks supposedly represent the word, "Sally's."

[36] *The Embargo*. Boston, 1808. Pp. 6, 7. Bryant stated ("Autobiography," I, 28) that *The Monthly Anthology* quoted from the completed poem the paragraph which first attracted his father's attention. The lines above are those which appear in the *Anthology* for June, 1808 (V, 339). Since the passage perhaps saw revision between its first composition and its publication, it is possible that this version does not correspond exactly with the original.

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Peter Bryant read the passage, was delighted, and encouraged Cullen to write an extensive poem.[37] The result was "The Embargo," a poem of two hundred and forty-four lines. With much fire, the author recounted the woes of the American sailor and farmer under the embargo; he revealed the menaces of Bonaparte abroad and of demagogues at home; he implored patriots to shake off Jefferson and the Gaul. His peroration against Napoleon was written in the best manner of post-Revolutionary eloquence:

> While thus, all Europe rings with his alarms,
> Say, shall we rush, unthinking, to his arms?
> No: let us dauntless all his fury brave,
> Our fluttering flag, in freedom's gale shall wave,
> Our guardian Sachem's errless shafts shall fly,
> And terrors lighten from our eagle's eye! [38]

Two allusions to affairs in Massachusetts are particularly interesting. The post-boy, it seems, was the vehicle of anarchy:

> Lo, trudging on his rawbon'd steed, he hies,
> Dispersing Suns, and Chronicles, and Spys;
> Men uniform'd, in rage for something new,
> Howe'er unprincipled, howe'er untrue,
> Suck in with greedy throat, the gilded pill,
> Whose fatal sweetness pleases but to kill.[39]

The three journals chosen for obloquy were Massachusetts sheets of strong Republican bias; *The Sun,* published in Pittsfield; *The Independent Chronicle,* in Boston; and *The Republican Spy,* in Northampton.[40] Contrasted with the editors of such sheets was the "first of statesmen! Massachusetts pride!"—none other than Senator Timothy Pickering,

> Whose ardent mind, and keen discerning eye,
> Pierc'd the peep [*sic*] veil of Gallic policy.[41]

Pickering's letters and speeches were, indeed, powerful weapons against "the imbecile slave" in the White House; what Cullen did not realize was the fact that the Senator's attacks were motivated

[37] "Autobiography," I, 28.
[38] *The Embargo* (1808), pp. 11, 12.
[39] *Idem,* p. 8.
[40] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* 2nd Series, XXV, 239-246, 455, 459-462.
[41] *The Embargo* (1808), p. 9.

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by an ambition to become president of the United States, or at least of a New England confederacy.[42]

When the poem was completed in April, 1808,[43] the father took the manuscript to Boston and had it printed at his own expense. Its publication was announced on June 14, by notices inserted in Federalist journals of Boston, the *Repertory* and the *New England Palladium*.[44] The title-page read as follows:

The / Embargo, / or / Sketches of the Times; / A / Satire. / By a Youth of Thirteen. / Boston: / Printed for the Purchasers. / 1808.

The little pamphlet was sponsored by no bookseller and had a limited circulation; only nine copies are known to survive.[45] No biographer of Bryant appears to have had access to this first version of the poem;[46] nor has it received a critical examination since it was reviewed by contemporaries.

The two important magazines of the day, the *Port Folio* of Philadelphia and the *Monthly Anthology* of Boston, were Federalist in sympathies. The absence of any mention in the *Port Folio* of a poem so much to the taste of its editor, Joseph Dennie, indicates that no copy was sent to him for review.[47] The *Monthly Anthology,* conducted by the Anthology Society of Boston, which included among its members the Reverend William Emerson, the Reverend Joseph S. Buckminster, and the Reverend Ellery Channing, passed upon it favorably: "Though the poem is unequal,

[42] Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America.* New York, 1889-1909. IV, 402.

[43] *The Embargo . . . and Other Poems* (1809), p. 20.

[44] "*The Embargo—A Poem.* This day published and for sale at the several Bookstores in Boston, price 12½ cents."

[45] Four copies are in the hands of private collectors: (1) the Norton-Sturges copy, (2) the Wakeman-Harper copy, (3) the Hoffman-Hawkins-Pope-Hoe-Wallace copy, (4) a copy sold in 1927 by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York. Five copies are in university, public, or semi-public libraries: (5) Harvard University, (6) the Boston Athenaeum, (7) the Henry E. Huntington Library, (8) and (9) the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[46] Godwin stated (I, 73) that he had seen only a copy of the edition of 1809. The references of other biographers were likewise drawn from the revised text.

[47] That the *American Register* of Philadelphia noted (II, 126) the publication of *The Embargo* does not imply that its editor had seen a copy, for he compiled his semi-annual lists of new books from bookseller's announcements.

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and there are some flat and prosaick passages, yet there is no small portion of fire and some excellent lines." The reviewer, A. H. Everett,[48] decorously continued: "We regret that the young poet has dared to aim the satirick shaft against the breast of our most excellent President." However, his good breeding immediately succumbed to his partisanship: ". . . as the lines are a good specimen of the author's powers, we cannot resist the temptation of quoting them."[49] Then followed the violent paragraph on Jefferson which had first caught Doctor Bryant's attention.

"The Embargo" was naturally a source of pride to the members of the Bryant family. Deacon Snell so far forgot biblical injunctions concerning the honor due chief rulers and magistrates that, when visitors came into the home, he called on Cullen to read from the manuscript of the poem.[50] Schoolmaster Briggs was equally unchristian, for the boy was permitted to recite from "The Embargo" in the school-house. According to tradition, Peter Bryant at this time took his son to visit, in New Bedford, the Doctor's uncle, Gamaliel Bryant. Uncle Gamaliel admitted that Cullen was an uncommonly talented boy, but he was not convinced that the young poet had not received aid from his father.[51] The *Monthly Anthology,* also, had been skeptical on this point:

> If this poem be really written by a youth of thirteen, it must be acknowledged an extraordinary performance. We have never met with a boy of that age who had attained to such command of language and to such poetick phraseology.[52]

To any one who had followed Cullen's poetic development, however, his diction and his technique are neither incredible nor even surprising.

Willing to vindicate the judgment of his friendly critics by the publication of further verse and anxious to reply to detractions of the less sympathetic, Cullen later in 1808 prepared for another public appearance. He revised and enlarged his "Embargo," com-

[48] Identified in *Journal of the Proceedings of the Society . . .* ed. Howe. Boston, 1910. P. 323.

[49] V, 339 (June, 1808).

[50] J. H. Bryant in *Celebration of the Chicago Literary Society.* Chicago, 1874. P. 12.

[51] C. T. Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist.* Boston, 1880. P. 33.

[52] V, 339.

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posed "The Spanish Revolution," [53] gathered a half-dozen earlier poems, and wrote for the collection a preface which he dated October 25, 1808.[54] The resulting pamphlet was copyrighted by Peter Bryant on February 8, 1809, as *The Embargo; or, Sketches of the Times. A Satire. The Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged Together with The Spanish Revolution, and other Poems.*[55]

The name of William Cullen Bryant appeared as author on the title-page of the new edition. In the preface, he replied in his own person to critics. First, he met certain strictures of the *Anthology:*

> Should the candid reader find any thing in the course of the work sufficiently interesting to arrest his attention,—it is presumed he will not grudge the trouble of labouring through a few "inequalities," a few "flat and prosaic passages." [56]

Then, with skillful indirection, he replied to Uncle Gamaliel and all who questioned the authenticity of his authorship:

> The writer of these poems, is far from thinking that all his errors are expunged, or all his faults corrected. Indeed were that the case, he is suspicious, that the "composition" would cease to be his own.[57]

To the preface was prefixed an "Advertisement," likewise defensive in tone, inserted by unnamed "friends of the writer." These gentlemen, undoubtedly acquaintances with whom Doctor Bryant had been associated on his visits to Boston, referred to doubts expressed, "whether a youth of thirteen years could have been the author of this poem." In response,

> They, therefore, assure the public, that Mr. Bryant, the author, is a native of Cummington, in the county of Hampshire, and in the month of November last arrived at the age of fourteen years. The facts can be authenticated by many of the inhabitants of that place, as well as by several of his friends who give this notice; and if it be deemed worthy of further inquiry, the printer is enabled to disclose their names and places of residence.[58]

---

[53] Dated August, 1808 (*The Embargo . . . and Other Poems* (1809), p. 26).

[54] *Idem*, p. 6.

[55] The pamphlet was "Printed for the Author, by E. G. House, No. 5, Court Street." The second edition appears to have been larger than the first, since numerous copies have survived.

[56] *Idem*, p. [5]. [57] *Idem*, p. 6. [58] *Idem*, p. [3].

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A comparison of the first and the second versions of "The Embargo" permits significant conclusions.[59] The original two hundred and forty-four lines Cullen expanded to four hundred and twenty lines. Punctuation was altered, certain crudities and infelicities were expunged,[60] and various sections were strengthened or enlarged.[61] Among the many additions of new matter, three are perhaps most interesting. The first was a reference to two notorious editors:

> Oh, snatch me heaven! to some sequester'd spot,
> Where Jefferson, and faction, are forgot;
> Where never '*Suns*' nor '*Chronicles*' molest,
> Duane and Colvin unregarded rest.[62]

The boy chose wisely his two examples of factious editors: John B. Colvin of the *Republican Advocate* of Frederick-Town, Maryland, was entirely unscrupulous as a propagandist;[63] and William Duane of the *Aurora* of Philadelphia, was unsurpassed as a scurrilous libeller.[64] The second allusion was to John Quincy Adams, Republican Senator from Massachusetts from 1803 to 1808 and sixth president of the United States, although Cullen had the grace

[59] No study of these two versions has heretofore been made. Literary historians have been accustomed to discuss the text of 1808, which they have not seen, as though it were identical with that of 1809.

[60] *E. g.*, in the first edition (p. 4), appeared this passage:

> . . . 'tis thy falling cause,
> Which, from obscurity, a stripling draws;
> And were his powers but equal to his zeal [etc.].

In the second edition (p. 8), the lines were altered thus:

> Oh let a youth thine inspiration learn—
> Oh give him "words that breathe and thoughts that burn!"

In 1808 (p. 9), Pickering

> Pierced the peep veil of Gallic policy.

In 1809 (p. 16), he

> Trac'd out the true Embargo policy.

[61] *E. g.*, in the 1809 version, Bryant improved his discussion of the American sailor (p. 8) and supplemented it with an account of the mechanic (p. 9); he elaborated his attack on Napoleon (p. 10); and he enlarged the section on Pickering (p. 16).

[62] *Idem*, p. 15.

[63] See Colvin, *Republican Policy; or, The Superiority of the Principles of the Present Administration over those of its Enemies, who call themselves Federalists.* n. p., [1804?].

[64] Henry Adams, I, 119.

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to omit his victim's name.[65] Since this portrait of Adams has never been identified in print, it deserves quotation:

> Unhappy he, by glare of *office* lur'd,
> Renounc'd the truth, and federal faith abjur'd!
> With fine spun sophisms, and inflated style,
> Strove to mislead, bewilder, and beguile;
> O'er presidential error gently spread
> The flimsy veil, perverted reason made.[66]

As a valiant opponent of such "pimps of France," Bryant elevated a New York editor. When Adams had thus bemused the public mind,

> . . . Coleman rose, by honest anger led,
> And at his touch the gay delusion fled.[67]

William Coleman, an undeviating Federalist even after his party had dissolved, became the editor of the New York *Evening Post* when it was founded in 1801 by Alexander Hamilton and his friends. In his dreams for his son's future, it surely never occurred to Peter Bryant that, eighteen years after this eulogy was penned, Coleman would engage Cullen as his assistant, or that in 1829, Bryant would succeed him as editor of the *Post*.

In the 1809 edition of *The Embargo* appeared Cullen's third political composition, "The Spanish Revolution," a poem of one hundred and thirty-eight lines. The author thus summarized its contents::

> A BARD, in science young, unskill'd in song,
> Essays to tell, how, rous'd by gathering wrong,
> IBERIA, rising from disgrace and chains,
> Repuls'd th' Usurper from her native plains.[68]

In conclusion, he exhorted American patriots to aid the Spanish victims of Napoleon:

> Her generous sons, who, French finesse despise,
> Would gladly meet thy nourishing supplies.
> Why then, does Commerce still delay to steer
> To their green shores her breeze-compell'd career!
> Rise! bid her spread her enterprizing sail,

---

[65] As the object of this attack was referred to as the colleague of Timothy Pickering, he could be no other than John Quincy Adams.

[66] *The Embargo . . . and Other Poems* (1809), p. 17.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Idem*, p. 21.

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> And raise her streamers to the wavy gale;
> Explore the bounties of the torrid zone,
> And let its ripe productions be our own! [69]

Cullen realized, of course, that the adoption of this counsel would involve repeal of the embargo on trade. Although these early political verses of Cullen Bryant's were marred by violent prejudice, their composition was undoubtedly beneficial to the lad, in that they stimulated his interest in public affairs.[70]

V

During the winter of 1808-1809, Cullen Bryant was preparing for college under the direction of his maternal uncle, the Reverend Thomas Snell, of Brookfield.[71] Here the classics completely filled Cullen's mind. When he attempted to improve upon a fellow-pupil's crude poem, "The Endless Knot," he turned to the ancient myth of Ariadne and the Athenian hero:

> So seemed the Cretan labyrinth of old,
> Maze within maze, in many a winding fold.[72]

When the second edition of *The Embargo* appeared in 1809, on its last page was printed a "Translation from Horace. Lib. I. Car. XXII," perhaps written at Brookfield.[73]

In the spring of 1809, Doctor Bryant wrote to his son suggesting

[69] *Idem*, p. 26.

[70] Of the remaining poems in the pamphlet of 1809, three have been discussed previously ("Drought," "Ode to Connecticut River," and "The Contented Ploughman"); the "Enigmas" (pp. 31-33) are too slight for attention. "The Reward of Literary Merit," written in 1807, shows that even at the age of twelve, Cullen was reflecting on the hard fortune of the unappreciated and ill-rewarded poet, a problem which ten years later became a critical issue in his life.

[71] "Autobiography," I, 28.

[72] The entire poem of fourteen lines is quoted in *idem*, I, 29.

[73] Two facts suggest that the translation was made at Brookfield. First, it indicates a more extensive knowledge of Latin on its author's part than Cullen possessed at Cummington. Secondly, it is printed without pagination or date, although there is space for both. The lack of pagination suggests that the poem was perhaps added to the collection just before it was printed. The lack of date (all the other poems are dated) suggests that the translation was perhaps made subsequent to the writing of the preface. To date a poem after the preface would, of course, be awkward.

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that he translate passages of the *Aeneid* into English verse. On April 4, 1809, Cullen sent two rimed translations from Virgil for his father's criticism: "Description of a Storm," from Book I, lines 83-123; and "Polyphemus," from Book III, lines 618-674. An unpublished section from the "Description" will prove that he was superior to the majority of juvenile Latinists:

> While thus he mourns, a roaring tempest strides,
> Fierce from the north, and rends the vessels sides;
> Tremendous surges, rising from the main,
> Aloft to heaven the labouring bark sustain,—
> Its oars are shattered, and the waters ride,
> (Its prow inverted,) dashing on its side.[74]

His account of Polyphemus, never heretofore printed, indicates that he, like every normal boy, did not shrink from gore. Three glimpses of the giant will illustrate:

> "I saw the monster when supinely laid
> "Along his cave, and shrouded in its shade,
> "Ferocious, grasping in his mighty hand
> "Two from the number of Ulysses' band.
> "He dashed them on the rocks, the foaming flood
> "Poured thro the den, now floating with their blood;
> "Convulsed on the earth [?] their quivering limbs I saw;
> "And flesh yet warm beneath his cruel jaw;—
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> "Stretched out immense, within his cave's broad way,
> "Gorged with his cruel feast, the monster lay;
> "And from his heaving breast with sleep supine,
> "Discharging fragments mixed with gory wine;
> "Around him fierce with steel our cohort pour,
> "And the huge eyeball from his forehead bore;
> "Beneath his dark, and lowering front, that lay,
> "High as a Grecian shield, or, like the lamp of day!"
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Now gained the shore, amid the deep he strides
> While yet it rolls beneath his lifty sides;
> And washes, with a groan, the trickling blood
> From his quenched eyeball, in the briny flood.[75]

During the winter, Cullen's creative powers languished. When he

[74] Manuscript in Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa.
[75] Manuscript in *ibid.*

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undertook in April a verse epistle to Austin, he found his spirit willing but his hand unaccustomed to the task:

> Once more the bard, with eager eye, reviews
> The flowery path of Fancy, and the Muse
> Once more essays to trill forgotten strains,
> The loud amusement of his native plains.[76]

The body of this epistle, like Cullen's other verses written at Brookfield, dealt with classical material—profitable theme for a scholar but, according to his mind, not stimulating to genius. "I wrote rather better," he stated concerning these years, "when I had no original to follow." [77]

VI

Such were the five themes which, from 1803 to 1809, supplied the subject matter for Cullen Bryant's verse, each in turn dominating his mind practically to the exclusion of all other ideas. With the coming of the year 1810, however, Bryant, now fifteen, found himself capable of pursuing his various intellectual interests simultaneously. His alertness to political change, for example, was evidenced on January 17, when the *Hampshire Gazette* published "The Genius of Columbia; A Poem," by "W. C. B." In these stanzas, never collected, he renewed his attack on Napoleon, whose exploits in Austria and Sweden suggested to the heated fancy of the youthful Federalist a Napoleonic invasion of North America:

> Then should Napoleon's haughty pride
> Wake on our shores the fierce affray;
> Grim terror lowering at his side,
> Attendant on his furious way!
>
> With quick repulse, his baffled band
> Would seek the friendly shore in vain,
> Bright Justice lift her red right hand
> And crush them on the fatal plain.

The *Gazette* likewise published on May 16 an unsigned poem in heroic couplets, entitled "David's Elegy." Comparison with Cullen's blank verse treatment of the same theme written about 1804 shows that this is a version by the same hand; religious topics, it is

[76] Twenty-four of the one hundred and eighty lines were preserved by J. H. Bryant and were printed with his reminiscences, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[77] "Autobiography," I, 29.

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thus demonstrated, still attracted the youthful Bryant. Apparently during the same period, Cullen turned again to nature and wrote "The Spring's Walk,"[78] a poem which has never before appeared in print. The first stanza is notable for its "chittering sparrows" and "wandering wild-bee"—unusually realistic touches for an American poet in the year 1810:

> Again the vivid green I tread,
> With garments fluttering in the gale;
> Or stretched beneath the deepening shade,
> The balmy breath of Spring inhale.
> Scared at my distant footsteps, fly,
> The chittering sparrows from the brakes;
> The wandering wild-bee murmurs by,
> The frighted bird her nest forsakes.

The ideal poet is then described in terms which the author was to contradict when he came to maturity:[79]

> I love the poet in whose song,
> A poet's animation glows,—
> Fresh as the gale that breathes along
> The dwellings of the morning rose.

The concluding stanzas contain the earliest suggestion that Cullen had perhaps come in contact with Thomas Gray and his associates in melancholy:

> Me oft the smiling Muses hail,
> Slow stealing from the haunts of men;
> A musing wanderer, lone and pale,
> Amid the wild and tangly glen.
> Though Penury chilled my infant powers,
> And frowning o'er my cradle hung,—
> Oft have I sought their fairy bowers,
> And oft the lyre to rapture strung.
>
> And oft when disappointment prest,
> And Care in sombre stole arrayed;

---

[78] The manuscript in the Henry E. Huntington Library, apparently a copy made by Miss Charity Bryant, is dated August, 1810. This is doubtless the date of the transcript, not of the original composition. The poem was probably composed in the spring-time, and probably after Cullen had learned something of the classics. The spring of 1809 is therefore a possible date; and the spring of 1810, a more acceptable one.

[79] See, *e. g.*, W. C. Bryant, "An Essay on American Poetry," in the *North American Review*, VII, 198-211 (July, 1818).

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To their loved haunts I flew for rest,
And sheltered in their peaceful shade.
Give me the calm contented mind,
The warbling lyre and heaven-taught lay,—
Capricious Fortune's gifts resigned,
Let those enjoy her smiles who may.— [80]

Bryant's affection for the classics and his impulse toward satire were manifested during the following winter at Williams College (1810-1811). Here he translated the familiar "Fragment" of Simonides,[81] certain choruses from *Oedipus Tyrannus*,[82] and one of Anacreon's odes to Spring; [83] here also he composed an "Indian War Song" in the manner of the Greek choruses.[84] Meanwhile, the young scholar's disappointment with Williamstown and the college hardened into resentment, which at length flamed out in a satirical poem entitled "Gulielmopolis." [85]

This survey of Cullen Bryant's *juvenilia* reveals that the boy was dealing in his own fashion with the topics which were to occupy him as a man. From the experiments in religious didacticism of 1803-1806, he passed to "Thanatopsis," to the hymns of 1820, and at length to "The Flood of Years." When the youth reached the age of accountability, he judiciously suppressed the personal invective unleashed in 1805-1807; and yet he could not prevent its escape now and then in an occasional squib in his *Evening Post* or in his relations with certain contemporaries.[86] His pastoralism was in 1806-1808 cramped and even thwarted by the formal patterns through which he attempted to reproduce his affection for nature; but he soon outgrew these borrowings and created his own symbols for fluent self-expression. Bryant likewise passed beyond

[80] Manuscript in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

[81] For an uncollected version, see the *Hampshire Gazette*, April 23, 1817.

[82] Strophe and antistrophe I of the second chorus may be found in Godwin, I, 94.

[83] For a transcript by Bryant's room-mate, John Avery, in a letter dated Williamstown, April 6, 1811, see *idem*, I, 91.

[84] For a specimen stanza, see *idem*, I, 90.

[85] The poem is fully discussed in "Cullen Bryant at Williams College," *The New England Quarterly*, I, 443-466 (October, 1928).

[86] For instances of Bryan's acerbity of temper, see Philip Hone, *Diary*, ed. Nevins, New York, 1927. Pp. 41, 686; T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, London, 1864. II, 353; *The New York Evening Post* [Weekly], June 14, 1878.

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the partisanship of the political verse of 1808; but his devotion to liberty and democracy increased rather than lessened with the passing of time. Finally, out of the translations of 1809 and 1810, came the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of 1870 and 1871.

The world of criticism, meanwhile, was in despair concerning poetry among the Americans. In 1809, Robert Southey declared: "No work of distinguished merit in any branch has yet appeared among them."[87] Simultaneously, a Philadelphia editor gloomily prophesied: "As for America, there is not the smallest chance of her ever producing a real poet."[88] The Reverend Joseph S. Buckminster, however, found the omens more hopeful in Boston: ". . . if we are not mistaken in the signs of the times, the genius of our literature begins to show signs of vigour."[89] Equally accurate and more specific had been A. H. Everett's prediction in commenting on Bryant's "Embargo": "If the young bard has met with no assistance in the composition of this poem, he certainly bids fair, should he continue to cultivate his talent, to gain a respectable station on the Parnassian mount."[90] Since the two premises of Mr. Everett's syllogism proved to be sound, his conclusion could not but follow. By the end of Cullen Bryant's fifteenth year, the foundations of his poetic career had been laid, and the days of his apprenticeship were ended; within a few months, the composing of "Thanatopsis" was to win for him a substantial niche on "the Parnassian mount."

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[87] *Quarterly Review*, II, 319 (November, 1809).

[88] Quoted in Rowe, IV, 364. Fisher Ames of Boston was of the same mind: "If we tread the sides of Parnassus, we do not climb to its heights" ("American Literature," in *Works*. Boston, 1809. P. 60).

[89] "Phi Beta Kappa Address" [Cambridge, 1809], in *The Monthly Anthology*, VII, 148 (September, 1809). This address was considered a courageous demand for the independence of American literature from foreign influences.

[90] *The Monthly Anthology*, V, 340.

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXVI APRIL, 1929 Number 2

BRITOMART AT THE HOUSE OF BUSIRANE

By Edwin Greenlaw

A study of some of the analogues of the adventures of Britomart at the Castle of Busirane (*F. Q.*, III, xi, xii) reveals Spenser's understanding of one of the most interesting of romance themes, and helps to make clear his method in allegory. The story, reduced to lowest terms, is as follows:

(a) A knight is unable to rescue his lady who is held prisoner in the dungeon of an enchanted castle. (b) The entrance is guarded by fire. (c) Britomart comes, comforts the knight, undertakes the adventure, passes through the fire. (d) Within are chambers or great halls; the walls are covered with arras depicting Cupid's wars against the gods; there is an altar; on it is an image of gold—Cupid, blindfold, with mortal bow and arrows; a wounded dragon is beneath; there is an inscription to the Victor of the Gods; other rooms are bedecked with Cupid's triumphs. (e) There is a forbidden chamber before which the hero keeps vigil until night; no living creature is to be seen.

(f) At night a trumpet sounds; a hideous storm of wind, lightning, and thunder, with quaking of the earth, lasts from the fourth hour to the sixth. (g) At midnight there is a mighty whirlwind that opens and shuts every door, and forces open the wicket as if by mighty levers; a tragic Prologue appears; seems to address an audience, explaining some serious matter. He introduces a joyous fellowship of minstrels and bards, and, after these, in manner of a masque, the courtiers of Cupid. At last comes a Lady, held by two guards; her heart has been drawn from her breast, and lies, bathed in blood and transfixed by an arrow, in a silver basin. After them is the god, riding on a lion; his eyes are unbound, he threats all beholders with his darts; he is followed by three persons—Reproach, Repentance, Shame, and by a confused rout of maladies of love. The masquers march three times around the chamber; disappear; the door is closed by another terrible blast. (h) The hero does not understand the mystery; fails to act; tries in vain to pass through the door.

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(i) Britomart passes the day alone in the chamber; at night the same wonders are repeated; but as the Masque enters, the hero forces a way into the Forbidden Chamber. Here is found the Lady, bound to a pillar; the enchanter draws blood from her wound and writes strange characters in his book. At the interruption, the enchanter overturns his books; there is a great fight; the hero is victorious and is about to slay the enchanter but is stopped by the Lady; the enchanter reverses his charms, so terrible that the house shakes, doors and windows rattle, other terrors threaten. (j) But the enchantments lose their power; the Lady is freed; they go out through rooms that are now bare of ornament; the fires that guarded the castle are gone.

Certain elements in this story will be recognized as commonplaces: the intervention of a knight to aid in the rescue of a lady whose own knight is powerless; the castle surrounded by fire, or otherwise inaccessible; the removal of an enchantment. But other incidents are characteristic of a more limited group of stories: the supernatural storm at midnight; the symbolic decorations; the vigil; the symbolic procession, as of a ritual; the failure of the hero at first, not because of any lack of courage but through inability to understand the meaning. Analogues of the conventional elements have been pointed out from the time of Warton and Todd, and there have been discussions of the influence of the Court of Love upon the story; there has been no study of the plot as a whole, of its possible relations to a certain group of tales about castles of wonder, and of the bearing of these matters upon the theory of allegory illustrated by the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*.

In the English Wagner book, or *Second Report* (1594) are two stories curiously related to this plot.[1] In the first, we are told (ch. i) that Wagner, coming into the hall after the death of his master, had a marvelous adventure:

(f) At night a great storm suddenly arises; the winds rage, the lightning lifts up his voice; hail and rain follow. (g) The doors fly open, and in all pomp enters the Prologue of a Comedy, symbolically attired. After him comes Lucifer, King of Hell, with the four monarchs of his dominions; betwixt them a fiery cart in which is Faustus; at last divers others with trumpets and excellent melody. With huge tumult and echoing of trumpets they crown (ironically of course) Faustus as King. The Masque disap-

[1] I use the reprint of the *Second Report*, ed. by William Rose, Routledge, Broadway Translations. See also A. E. Richards, "The English Wagner Book of 1594," *PMLA.*, XXIV, 32 ff.

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pears, leaving Wagner terrified. On going out into the street, he finds that there has been no storm; the night is clear.

In the second incident (ch. viii), the action takes place out of doors, at a gathering of the people of Wittenberg in 1540:

(d) In the sky a great stage is seen, like a castle; over it appear the planets and stars, the Heaven itself or an epitome of it. (f) Trumpets sound thrice. (g) There enters, on the high stage, a Prologue clad in black, who begins to show by motions and acting the argument of a scenical tragedy. Out of Hell's mouth issues a whole army of fiery flames and smoke, after which a great battle of footmen devils, laying siege to the castle. Faustus appears on the walls, armed with crosses, pen, and ink horns, charms, etc. He bids defiance to the devils, and is supported by a legion of bright angels; these aids, however, he sends away. Faustus is taken prisoner, his castle razed; with its fall the large heaven and world shake mightily. He is bound, tried by the imperial ruler of hell; the great devil himself is present, with his fire-burnt sceptre and crown; the flames from his eyes terrify and blind the Wittenbergers below. At length all the masquers vanish; the thunder of the fall of the castle sounds like a thousand houses falling from the top of heaven. Later, we learn that the whole thing is an example of Wagner's knavery, that is, an enchantment. In several places mention is made of Wagner's consulting magic books.

In these extraordinary incidents some elements, such as the cosmic setting, come from some other source than that which Spenser uses. The magic books, however, the storm and the trumpets, the use of a Prologue explaining in dumb show the action that is to follow; most of all, the Masque, which has, especially in the first incident, every indication of having been derived from *FQ* or from a common source, show a striking interrelation. Lucifer corresponds to Cupid; his courtiers to Cupid's courtiers; his victim to the Lady. He threatens beholders, like Cupid. In both cases we have a sort of ritual in honor of a god.

A second set of analogues of great interest is found in *Amadis of Gaul*, a romance widely popular in Spenser's time.[2] Several of the motifs occur repeatedly in this romance, notably the idea of a forbidden chamber which none but true lovers can enter. But there are two adventures that show some parallels with the story of Britomart. The first of these runs as follows (Book I, ch. xix, xx):

[2] I use Southey's translation, London, 1872. Some parallels with Spenser have been pointed out by Warton and Todd; they do not, however, treat the larger relations of the plots, or the series of incidents which I cite here.

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(a) Amadis comes to an uncanny castle, ruled by Arcalaus, an enchanter. Within is a lady separated from her lover. The hero is with Gandelin (not the lady's lover), who cannot penetrate the castle. (b) Inside the gate, Amadis finds that the place is deserted; he waits till night; passes *into* another place, also deserted; sees a dark passage with steps leading underground. (d) Within this dungeon all is dark; the hero hears voices complaining of their sufferings; he fights the jailers; releases the lady, who was tied round the neck with a great chain, her garments worn through to the skin; Amadis waits for day before proceeding farther. Then comes a great conflict with the enchanter; Amadis forces his foe to flee; he runs to a little room, whither Amadis follows; but at the door his strength fails; he is made prisoner, with Gandelin and with the Lady who had been set free.

(g) The wife of the enchanter sympathizes with the Lady and with the hero; at night the two women keep watch beside the senseless Amadis. Two damsels enter, each bearing many lighted candles which they place around the sides of the room. One of the damsels takes a book from a casket and reads aloud, and at times a voice answers her; at other times many voices, all seeming to be within the chamber. Then another book comes through the floor of the chamber, driven by the wind, and she who reads takes this book, breaks it into four parts, burns the parts at the candles. (j) Amadis is freed from his enchantment, and the Lady and the wife, who were held as in a spell. The hero frees 115 other prisoners—"even so did our Saviour go out from Hell."

Here the parallels with *FQ* are easily seen. The hero penetrates a mysterious castle, known to belong to an enchanter. Gandelin, left outside, corresponds to Scudamore, although not the lover of the Lady. The Lady is bound by a chain in a dungeon. The ritualistic masque differs from the one which Britomart saw, but the two stories agree in that a mysterious ceremony precedes the lifting of the charm. The damsels with the candles belong to the Grail Castle tradition; but the magic books correspond to the books of enchantment that figure in the Britomart story. The freeing of the prisoners, in which Amadis is hailed as the type of Christ freeing his followers from hell, points to the Grail cycle. The plot has evidently been much distorted by the author, who seeks merely for novelty without any true comprehension of the materials which he uses.

The adventure of the Firm Island and the Forbidden Chamber is the principal motif in *Amadis*; in order to gain suspense, the author refers in various places to the marvelous castles. The best account is found in the story told by a damsel sent by Briolania

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to Oriana.[3] The story is so distorted by the author that it cannot be fitted into the plot which I have outlined, but an abstract will show some incidents in common:

Various lovers have tried in vain to pass the enchantments of the palace, which belongs to Apolidon. In a cave into which Briolania and her companions look while at dinner, a great fight takes place between a serpent and two lions. The diners are terrified, but are reassured by "the men of the island." Next day, in another palace, they find a costly bed for Queen Briolania, and others for her damsels. At midnight comes a great wind storm, followed by a symbolic masque of a hart pursued by four dogs, urged on by an ivory horn which "moved and sounded in the air." Hart and dogs bound over the beds to the terror of the women, "so that we rose in our shifts and our hair hanging about." At length the intruders disappear; "we laughed at the confusion into which we had been thrown." A dame and two damsels enter, and a little girl with candles, and assure them that they will have no further trouble that night. The third day they go to another palace, in which they find pillars guarded by giants of copper, with bows in their hands; two fallow deer and a stag are destroyed by the arrows, which reduce them to dust. Inscriptions over the door warn all save true lovers to stay away. The next day Briolania tries the Arch of Lovers, finding an inscription bearing her name. The fifth day she attempts the Forbidden Chamber, but just by the door three hands seize her and pitilessly cast her out. Amadis, soon after, is told about the palaces of the Serpent and Lions, the Hart and Dogs, and of the Whirling Palace, which whirls violently about three times every day and as often at night.

This story, quite obviously, is filled with fragments of some older plot, rationalized, the pity and terror gone, by an author of no imaginative skill who was handling things he did not understand. There are allegorical combats of animals. The damsels with candles are here rationalized from an earlier form of the story

[3] II, ch. xxi. Amadis achieves the adventure in II, ii, and repeats it with Oriana at the end of the fourth book, closing the story. In the former account, Amadis goes with some companions to the Firm Island, finds a palace bedecked with shields of lovers who have essayed the adventure in vain. The companions find inscriptions bearing their names; Agrayes, Galaor, and Florestan try the enchantments in vain; they are cast out by blows from invisible hands; their swords do not cut. Amadis presses forward amid blows so fast that it seemed to him all the knights in the world were attacking him, and such an uproar of voices as to indicate the perishing of the whole world. At last a hand reaches out and draws him in.

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where they constituted part of some ritual. The beds are no longer perilous. No use is made of the whirling palace. These, with the images with arrows, the storm which precedes the masque, the whole series of wonders as a love-test, are elements in an old plot not understood by the author. The variations between the two main versions are of interest. In the first, the damsels, the magic beds, the ritual, the sense of malign forces back of the enchantment, seem related to the primitive form of the plot; in the second the various elements are jumbled incoherently together in a search for novelty.

In all these accounts of a Chateau Merveil we are reminded quite definitely of some version or versions of the adventures of the Grail Castle. This may be seen by a study of a passage in the Vulgate Lancelot (Sommer, IV, 343-347; Weston, 54 ff.):

(a) The adventures of Gawain take place at the Castle of Corbenic, which is enchanted. Nothing is said about a lady to be rescued; later in the tale we learn that twelve maidens appear, weeping, and praying to be relieved from pain. The adventure can be carried through only by a chosen knight. (b) The castle, being surrounded by water, is difficult of access. (c) Gawain comes; gains entrance. There is no Prologue; the first mystery is introduced while Gawain is still being welcomed by a king and his retainers. A dove enters with a censer; then a damsel with food; the knights leave after the meal. (g) While it does not precede this first mystery, the magic storm, with clanging of doors and windows, occurs later in the adventure. (h) Gawain, like Britomart, is confronted by a mystery which he does not understand; he is silent, abashed, finds himself alone.

(i) What follows corresponds in general, not in detail, with Britomart's experience. There is a rich couch, on which Gawain is about to lie down, but is warned by a maiden's voice to keep his arms at hand. There is a terrible cry, and a lance comes from the Forbidden Chamber, its blade a flame; Gawain is sorely wounded; swoons from pain. Later in the night there is a masque of animals; after a combat between the leopard and the dragon, and between the old and young dragons, the windows clap to, with so great a noise that it seems the palace must fall, and there comes a mighty wind. This is followed by a masque of twelve maidens, weeping, and praying for relief from pain. Then a great knight comes forth from a chamber, all armed; he fights with Gawain until both are exhausted. Then the castle begins to shake; windows open and close; there is a great storm of thunder and lightning, but no rain. Following this the damsel "who the evening before had borne the holy vessel" appears once more; there are tapers and censers; the Grail appears; there is a song of many voices; the hall grows dark, and all the windows open and close.

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(j) Gawain is healed; next morning a hermit explains the meaning of the things he had witnessed; the dragon-leopard contest prefigures the wars of Arthur.

In all three versions, Corbenic, the Castle of Arcalaus and the Firm Island, and the Castle of Busirane, certain common elements are found: the chambers from which wonders issue; the perplexity of the hero; the vigil; the symbolic pageant or masque; the storm, with clangor of doors and windows. In Corbenic, the great wind with lightning and thunder recurs, marking the introduction of the successive wonders. There is no counterpart in *FQ* of the dragon-leopard conflict; in *Amadis* the conflict of animals figures Arthur's wars. But Corbenic and *FQ* agree in the motif of the maiden(s) held by enchantment; in the suggestion that this enchantment involves a sort of love-ritual. They agree in that the hero must fight an uncanny adversary; the contest in each case is so terrible that the castle seems about to fall. The lance in the Grail story, which wounds Gawain, is somewhat similar to the dart of Cupid in *FQ*; the Grail symbolism is also suggested by the heart of Amoret carried in a silver basin, bathed in its own blood. One may wonder if Spenser, more than other redactors, did not understand the mystery of the Grail as a love ritual.

For much of this the episodes in *Amadis* offer no counterpart. But those episodes do indicate relationship, ultimately, to some form of the Grail Castle adventure. Furthermore, the enchantments in *FQ* turn on the magic book of Busirane; in *Amadis* the damsels have a magic book; another book is driven by the wind, and is broken by the damsel into four parts and burned at the candles. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the *Amadis* versions exerted any appreciable influence on *FQ*.

These illustrations will make clear, I think, that Spenser was using a very old plot as the basis for a new and striking treatment.[4]

[4] It would be easy to collect other illustrations of adventures at the Grail castle that show some of the motifs that we have under consideration. Two other examples may be given. In *Peredur*, and, with some modifications, in *Diu Krône*, we read of a fortress across a great river which no coward, liar, or traitor can enter. Within it Gawain finds a rich palace with five hundred windows. In a chamber where there is a perilous bed he keeps vigil until night. There is a noise of windows; arrows and bolts wound the knight; he fights a lion. Afterwards the host thanks the knight for ending the enchantments. More apposite is the adventure of Boors or

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I do not here raise the question of direct debt to one of these sources. That the main features of a Grail castle adventure were well understood is proved by the recurrence of these motifs so many times. Somewhere Spenser came upon them, was attracted by them, saw something at least of their essential meaning. He was able to give new life to an old story without doing violence to this original meaning.

I pass now to a consideration of a romance which, without doubt, Spenser both knew and used, *Arthur of Little Britain*.[5] With the political importance of this romance in the time of Henry VIII, and with its influence upon the *Faerie Queene* as a whole I shall deal in another place. It is sufficient here to call attention not only to the fact that it is motivated, like Spenser's poem, by a vision of a fairy queen with whom the hero falls in love,—the romance containing the adventures incidental to his search,—but also that the hero tells this vision, after the story is well under way, to his friend Governar precisely as Spenser's Arthur tells Guyon of his vision and his search. No other parallel so extraordinary as this has been pointed out. Furthermore, Spenser was dealing with Arthur as prince, before he became king. The Arthur of the romance, named for the great king, served as a model of the knightly virtues which Spenser portrayed in his hero. The romance thus becomes probably the greatest single influence to be traced in Spenser's poem. The obvious stress on chastity, seen in many adventures; the counterparts in the romance of such incidents

Bohort (Bruce, II, 356) at Corbenic (Sommer, V, 295 ff.). The hero is welcomed at the castle by Pelles and his daughter. The familiar motifs appear: the dove with censer, the meal, the vigil, the perilous bed. There is a great clamor as of a storm; the hero is wounded by the lance; there are battles in which lion, dragon, leopard figure, symbolizing Arthur's wars. After Boors fights with a great knight, a masque or processional appears: a priest with censers and four children with candles; the lance tip drips blood; twelve weeping damsels pray for relief.

[5] This romance was translated by Lord Berners and apparently first printed by Copland, later by Robert Redborne. Warton speaks of an edition in 1609. It is included among the romances listed in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548-9). See the bibliographical note in Furnivall's edition of Laneham's Letter, p. cxlv; also in Hazlitt's *Handbook*. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, I, 260, suggested that to the leading incident in this romance (the vision of Arthur) Spenser owed his plan of the *FQ*. I use the reprint of 1814.

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and situations in *FQ* as the Acrasia episode, the initial incident in the book of Guyon, the Radigund-Artegal story in the fifth book, are a few of many indications, hitherto unnoticed, of Spenser's careful reading of *Arthur of Little Britain.*

At present, however, we are concerned only with Arthur's adventures at Porte Noire. Early in the romance we are told about this castle, built on Mount Perilous, by Proserpyne, a queen of faerie. It is surrounded by a river, within walls so deep that from the top one can scarcely see the stream below. The water is black, an evil odor issues from it, the rocks are covered with vermin. It is surrounded by mountains so high as to be inaccessible save by one way, well-guarded. Under the mountains lies a marsh, with pits of water, very foul; it can be crossed only by a narrow path. The castle of Porte Noire has very thick walls; inside are "halles of vehement adventures"; many knights had perished there, such as "toke on them to fordo the enchauntementes of that place." Outside was a palace, with halls and chambers; one could go to the Mount of Adventures where four queens of the faerie walked every night. Chief of them was Proserpyne; if the beauties of all the women in the world were collected they would not be one fourth part of her beauty.[6]

After some preliminary account of Arthur, we learn of the dream that impelled him to go in search of the woman he was destined to marry (ch. xvi). The dream is allegorical, and is interpreted by Governar, who accompanies him. Later we learn that the final

[6] I suggest, with some confidence, that the source of Browning's "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" is in this romance. To the description which I have given in abstract add the account of Arthur's appproach in ch. 43. The term "Tour Tenebrous" occurs at p. 257 and elsewhere; Porte Noire, the name of the castle, is significant. The river, the marsh, the vermin, the mountains that completely shut in the place give precisely the setting of Browning's poem. Furthermore, the adventure is the climax of a long search; Arthur's course is through a desolate region pointed out by a native who warned him that none ever returned; many have essayed the adventure and have been lost; the character of Arthur is very like that of Roland: "That be as God will," etc. The original edition of the romance is excessively rare, only two copies being known. The 1814 reprint, which Browning probably used, is also scarce. The Peabody Library possesses a fine copy bound by Mansell with twenty-five gorgeously illuminated plates from the old MS; my copy, also by Mansell, has the plates reproduced in black and white.

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adventures are to take place at Porte Noire, home of the fairy queen. Arthur's adventures as recounted in chapters xxv to xl are, as I have already indicated, analogous to adventures relating to Guyon, Britomart, and Artegal in *FQ*. Governar, through a part of the story, is like Guyon, the Governar-Arthur relation of the romance paralleling Guyon-Arthur of *FQ*. Later, Governar's adventures approximate those of Artegal. Furthermore, Master Steven, a magician, the tutor and adviser of Florence, suggests the relations of Merlin to Britomart, while Florence, the heroine, suggests Spenser's Florimel. She is the ward and intimate friend of Proserpyne, the Fairy Queen, who contrived all this magic for her sake, and tested Arthur's right to her love. With chapter xliii Arthur's adventures at Porte Noire become the center of interest:

(a) and (b) The difficulty of approach to Porte Noire, on Mount Perilous, an enchanted castle, has been described. Arthur does battle with twelve knights. His approach is watched by Master Steven, a magician, who knows from his books and astronomical observations that Arthur will come that day. (c) Arthur leaves outside his squire Baldwin and enters alone. (d) Within he finds "a most fayre hous" of which the following characteristics should be noted: (1) The walls contain, in marvelous colors, all manner of history "syth God first made man." (2) In the roof were "all the vii planettes wrought with fyne golde and syluer, and all the sytuacions of the heuens, wherein were pyght many carbuncles & other precyous stones, the whiche dyde cast grete clerenes bothe by daye and by nyght." (3) In the chamber are wonderful beds; at the head of the chief bed an image of gold, with bow of ivory, and arrow of silver, with an inscription warning of the peril of the bed to any but the chosen knight. (4) "Whan thys ymage shoteth, than all this palais shall tourne like a whele."

(f) Here, armed, Arthur keeps vigil. The adventures take place during the early part of the night; there is the blast of a trumpet, followed by a tempest. (g) As Arthur approaches the bed, he notices at each corner of the room a great image of fine gold, each with a trumpet. A great voice cries, "Behold now the end." The palace begins to tremble and shake as if it would fall to pieces; the first trumpet sounds; the doors and windows open and shut many times; though no creature is seen, he hears the noise as of a thousand men; there is a great light of torches and noise of people coming and going about the bed, and the braying of a hideous river, like the wild sea. He feels the rush of a mighty wind, so that he keeps his feet with difficulty. He does not understand the mystery, but is undeterred.

(i) With the blasts from the other three trumpets, Arthur is summoned to three battles: two with terrible lions, the third with a giant, a battle

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which lasts "a great space." After his victory, sorely wounded, Arthur throws himself on the bed; the image of gold shoots an arrow through the window, from which issues a dense smoke, followed by a terrific wind that bursts all the windows. There is frightful thunder; the palace shakes as if falling; a burning lance shoots toward him but he escapes; the whole palace turns about like a wheel for "a grete space." A great voice cries, "It is ended." (j) The enchantments gradually lose their power; the air becomes sweet and clear. Arthur, nearly dead, is found by his man Baldwin and Master Steven, who bind up his wounds. Then Arthur frees two prisoners curiously bound "in a coffer" made fast to the wall with great bands of steel; they were knights of noble lineage.

With the remainder of Arthur's adventures we are not now concerned, further than to note that at midnight he was awakened by "grete clerenes of torch lyght" and saw before the bed a queen crowned with gold, who told him of the white shield and the good sword Clarence, of the fayry." Then she vanished, but next morning he told Master Steven of his vision, and learned that he had seen Proserpyne the Fairy Queen, and that he is to wed Florence, her ward, like her in beauty (ch. xliv).

The relation of Porte Noire to Corbenic and other enchanted castles is, I think, quite clear.[7] The setting, the suggestion of some vague pageantry in the mysterious voices and the presence of people, though invisible, in the enchanted chamber; the great battle; the lance; the storm—all these are motifs marking definite relationship to the group. The dove with censer, the processional of the Grail, the weeping maidens, do not appear; the love allegory, suggested in the Grail stories and elaborated by Spenser, is wholly lacking. Instead, there are the astronomical elements—the representation of the firmament, the whirling castle, which link it

[7] Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, pp. 172-175, calls attention to the neglect of *Arthur of Little Britain*, which he regards as a survival of genuine Celtic tradition. He speaks of Arthur's companion as "a certain Baldwin," and regards the name as a corruption of Galvain. But in the Middle English romance, *The Avowynge of Arthur*, Baldwin is one of Arthur's chief knights and is the real hero, though Gawain is also present. This fact may lend some support to Mr. Loomis's contention (based on Layamon's suggestion that Arthur was fostered in Brittany and that his sword Clarent, in the alliterative *Morte Arthur*, is probably the "Clarence" of our romance) that the distinction between the great king and Arthur of Little Britain is comparatively late. Mr. Loomis is primarily concerned with the possible Celtic survivals in various versions of the Grail Castle adventure, matters not related to the subject of this paper.

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curiously to the *Second Report* and had, as I shall show elsewhere, an interesting application to early Tudor politics. Arthur's struggle with the lions and with the giant represents the proving of his claims for sovereignty; the implications are political, as in the allegorical animals of the Grail saga. Spenser uses the device of the allegorical animals, though not the fight, in his story of Britomart at the cave of Merlin and at Isis Church; the fight with the giant, however, parallels Britomart's struggle with the enchanter.

I wish now to point out what seems to me to be Spenser's meaning in his treatment of the Chateau Merveil theme, and its relations to his allegory. The clue is to be found in his representation of the enchantment, cast in the form of a ritual, that Britomart must dispel. We are guided to the interpretation not through such romance conventions as the inaccessible castle, the rescue of a maiden, or trumpets, fairy storms, emblematic animals. In *Rigomer*, for example, are illustrations of *diablerie* similar to those found at Corbenic or the Firm Island. There is a serpent-guarded bridge; the blast of a horn is followed by a fairy storm; there is a pageant of Rigomer's knights. Or, again, there is the Castle Perilous of *Claris et Laris*, with a great sorcerer as lord of the place, with a burning tower, with doors guarded by wild beasts. The opening and shutting of doors as a preface to a marvel is found near the beginning of the prose Grail, and elsewhere. One may hold, of course, that Spenser merely extracts and recombines *motifs* from these stories of perilous castles, works in a court of love allegory, and produces what seems to be a new building out of old bricks. That such is not the case, however, may be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to glance at some uninspired carpentry in the Vulgate Lancelot, for example, or in *Amadis* and its continuations. What Spenser does is in a high sense creative, justifying Upton's praise of it as "a new piece of machinery [which] exceeds in beauty of description all the fictions of romance writers that I ever yet could meet with."

For however frequently separate details may be met with, the fact remains that the center of the story of Britomart at Busirane's castle is some version of the Grail mysteries. The storm is a part of all such stories. Arthur is wounded by a lance; so Britomart. The bleeding lance and dish of the legend become the bleeding

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heart of the Lady, transfixed by a dart, borne in a basin. The processional or masque, which is the one essential characteristic of the Grail mystery, is developed by Spenser with the utmost imaginative skill. There is nothing of the Christian intrusions into the mystery of the Grail, but a transformation, through the medieval cult of Cupid, of the more primitive elements which, some scholars think, belong to the Grail as a survival of ancient ritual. Spenser, at any rate, saw it as ritual of some kind.

The persistence of similar elements in the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* gives a clue to Spenser's conception of his allegory. In each case the hero goes through a process of initiation as preparation for removing an enchantment. In the story of Red Cross, for example, the result comes near tragedy, for the defect of that knight is his lack of spiritual perception. This the poet makes clear throughout the period of preparation, notably in the story of Errour, of the seductions of Duessa, of the House of Pride. Awakened by Despair, saved by Una, and prepared by Holy Church, he meets the enchantment and gains the victory. So too in the story of Guyon's testing in the Cave of Mammon, in the love of country and the consciousness of his high mission born in him at the House of Alma. Britomart's story is not complete in the third book, or even in the fifth. She is the counterpart of Arthur, and Spenser did not disclose his full purpose in the portion of his poem that has come down to us. But the significance of the third book is clear enough. Here is set forth negatively a philosophy of love. One is struck by the recurrence of the Venus and Adonis motif: at Castle Joyeous in canto i; in the Gardens of Adonis in canto vi; in the Masque of Cupid at the end. Guyon's victory over Acrasia in Book II marks the overthrow of sensuality by reason. With this we may contrast, for example, the account of Castle Joyeous, with its damsels and squires devoted to the gallantry that Spenser depicts so scornfully in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again.* Or contrast, once more, the account of the birth of Belphoebe and Amoret, and the Gardens of Adonis, where he represents some of the biological ideas he got from ancient philosophy. To the scornful exposition of love gallantry at court, and his poetical representation of the mysteries of reproduction and the origin of life, he adds, at the end of the book, an imaginative treatment of the religion of love degenerated into a cult. All the resources of his

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art are employed in transforming the ancient story of a castle of wonders, its ritual an enchantment to be dispelled, into a third representation of a love that is no true religion. With it we may compare not only his satire in *Colin Clout* but the disavowal, in the dedicatory letter to the *Fowre Hymnes,* of the Platonic conceptions that the Renaissance had so misinterpreted. Yet not so much a disavowal as a re-interpretation, a charge of incompleteness, preparatory to the full statement of his philosophy of love and beauty in the last two hymns.

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ALANUS DE INSULIS, GILES FLETCHER, AND THE *MUTABILITIE* CANTOS

By H. M. Belden

No reader of *Christs Victorie* [1] can fail to observe how completely Fletcher is under the influence of *The Faerie Queene*. Not only are figures (*e. g.* Satan disguised as a hermit, *C. V.* II, 15 ff.; compare Spenser's Archimago, *F. Q.* I, i, 129 ff.) and settings (*e. g.* the Bower of Vaine-Delight, *C. V.* II, 39 ff.; compare Acrasia's bower, *F. Q.* II, xii) modeled closely upon Spenser's, but whole lines and couplets are transferred bodily, whether with or without the acknowledgment of quotation marks.[2] But I do not find that any one has noted the rather striking relation of the first canto of Fletcher's poem to the two cantos *Of Mutabilitie* and to Alanus de Insulis' figure of Nature in the *De Planctu Naturae*.[3]

Of Fletcher's use of the *De Planctu Naturae* there can be, I think, no question. In his description of the raiment of Mercy (*C. V.* I, 53-62) he has taken over almost bodily Alan's allegorical description of the raiment of Nature. The borrowing is the more noticeable because the matter borrowed is not, in Fletcher, really fitted to the character. What is in Alan's work easily interpreted allegory becomes in Fletcher's a somewhat puzzling excursus.

In the *De Planctu Naturae* [4] Alan tells us that while he was

[1] *Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heaven, and Earth, over, and after Death.* Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, edited by F. S. Boas, Cambridge, 1908. Each of the four parts of the poem has its own title, but I shall refer to them, for convenience, as cantos, with Roman numerals.

[2] *F. Q.* I, ix, 33^{4-5} reappears without change and without quotation marks in *C. V.* II, 23. On the other hand *F. Q.* I, x, 1^{8-9},

> If any strength we have, it is to ill,
> But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will,

reappears with quotations marks (and without the *eke*, since in Fletcher the second of the lines does not close a stanza) in *C. V.* III, 11.

[3] My attention was called to Fletcher's indebtedness to Alan by reading *Christs Victorie* while Professor Greenlaw's paper on the relation of the *Mutabilitie* cantos to Alan (*Studies in Philology*, XX, 219-31) was fresh in my mind.

[4] My quotations are from D. F. Moffat's translation, *Yale Studies in*

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lamenting the perversity of man, especially his unnatural lusts, there appeared before him, "gliding down from the inner palace of the impassable heavens," a lady, Nature herself, clad in raiment that symbolizes her activities. About her head she wears as a diadem the starry firmament, including the planets and the zodiac, each circling in its proper orbit. Her outermost garment or robe of state, "spun exceedingly fine, so as to escape the scrutiny of the eye, . . . was so delicate of substance that you would think it and the air of the same nature." Yet it shows shifting colors—white, rose, green—and on it, or in it, is seen a "parliament" of the creatures of the air—some thirty-five different sorts of birds, each with its characteristic note or motion. Under this is her mantle, "fine linen, with its white shaded into green, which the maiden, as she herself shortly afterward said, had woven without a seam. . . . Its many intricate folds showed the color of water, and on it a graphic picture told of the nature of the watery creation, as divided into numerous species." These in turn are described, some twenty of them, first of salt water and then of fresh, in their respective activities or uses. Then comes the tunic or body-garment, "massed into a thicker material approaching the terrestrial element," and again "pictured with embroidered work" representing land animals, a score or more, both wild and domestic, described in characteristic action as before. Finally, "what imagination slumbered in the many pictures on the shoes and undergarments" Alan "did not establish with any certainty," though he believed they were adorned with herbs and trees. He did observe, however, that her "shoes followed so closely the forms of her feet that they seemed to have been born on them. On these . . . there flourished, in the imagination of a picture, delicate flowers."

Just how Fletcher has used this description can best be shown by setting down his stanzas here, with some footnotes by way of commentary. His marginal gloss runs:

[Stz. 53] Her Garments, wrought by her owne hands, wherwith shee cloaths her selfe, composed of all the Creatures, [stz. 54] The Earth, [stz. 55] Sea, [stz. 57] Ayre, [stz. 59] The celestiall bodies, [stz. 61] The third heaven.

English, XXXVI. An abstract of Alan's description will be found in Greenlaw's article referred to above.

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53

Her upper garment was a silken lawne,
With needle-woorke richly embroidered,
Which she her selfe with her owne hand had drawne,[5]
And all the world therein had pourtrayed,
With threads, so fresh, and lively coloured,
That seem'd the world she newe created thear,
And the mistaken eye would rashly swear
The silken trees did growe, and the beasts living wear.

54

Low at her feet the Earth was cast alone,[6]
(As though to kisse her foot it did aspire,
And gave it selfe for her to tread upon)
With so unlike, and different attire,
That every one that sawe it, did admire
What it might be, was of so various hewe;
For to it selfe it oft so diverse grewe,
That still it seem'd the same, and still it seem'd a newe.[7]

55

And here, and there few men she scattered,[8]
(That in their thought the world esteeme but small,
And themselves great) but she with one fine thread
So short, and small, and slender wove them all,
That like a sort of busie ants, that crawle
About some molehill, so they wandered:
And round about the waving Sea was shed,
But, for the silver sands, small pearls were sprinkled.

---

[5] So Alan, but of her "mantle," *i. e.*, the element of water: "which the maiden, as she herself shortly afterward said, had woven without a seam."

[6] Fletcher, perhaps with the idea of securing a climax, has reversed Alan's order, which begins with the starry firmament and ends with the earth.

[7] This character of changeableness is ascribed by Alan, more fittingly, to the "outermost garment," the air. Did Fletcher introduce it here because it comes near the beginning in Alan? Spenser describes Nature (not her raiment) by a series of antitheses:

> Great Nature, ever young yet full of eld,
> Stll mooving, yet unmoved from her sted,
> Unseene of any, yet of all beheld. (VII, vii, 13.)

[8] In his description of the tunic Alan says: "In its principal part man laid aside the idleness of sensuality, and by the direct guidance of reason penetrated the secrets of the heavens. Here the tunic had undergone a rending of its parts, and showed abuses and injuries." This is explained in Prose IV, where Nature tells Alan that men "have taken arms against

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56

So curiously the underworke did creepe,
And curling circlets so well shadowed lay,
That afar off the waters seem'd to sleepe,
But those that neere the margin pearle did play,
Hoarcely enwaved wear with hastie sway,
As though they meant to rocke the gentle eare,
And hush the former that enslumbred wear,
And here a dangerous rocke the flying ships did fear.

57

High in the ayrie element there hung
Another clowdy sea, that did disdaine
(As though his purer waves from heaven sprung)
To crawle on earth, as doth the sluggish maine:
But it the earth would water with his raine,
That eb'd, and flow'd, as winde, and season would,
And oft the Sun would cleave the limber mould
To alabaster rockes, that in the liquid rowl'd.

58

Beneath those sunny banks, a darker cloud,
Dropping with thicker deaw, did melt apace,
And bent it selfe into a hollowe shroude,
On which, if Mercy did but cast her face,
A thousand colours did the bowe enchace,
That wonder was to see the silke distain'd
With the resplendance from her beawtie gain'd,
And Iris paint her locks with beames, so lively feign'd.[9]

59

About her head a cyprus heav'n she wore,
Spread like a veile,[10] upheld with silver wire,
In which the starres so burn't in golden ore,
As seem'd, the azure web was all on fire,
But hastily, to quench their sparkling ire,
A flood of milke came rowling up the shore,
That on his curded wave swift Argus bore,
And the immortall swan, that did her life deplore.

---

their mother in evil and violence. . . . This tunic, then, is made with this rent, since by the unlawful assaults of man alone the garments of my modesty suffer disgrace and division."

[9] The rainbow, not mentioned by Alan, gives Fletcher an opportunity for an exercise of wit in praise of Mercy.

[10] "A cyprus heav'n" suggests that a woman's headdress of some sort was then called a "heaven," but I can find no support for the suggestion

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60

Yet strange it was, so many starres to see
Without a Sunne, to give their tapers light:
Yet strange it was not, that it so should be:
For, where the Sunne centers himselfe by right,
Her face, and locks did flame, that at the sight
The heavenly veile, that else should nimbly moove,
Forgot his flight, and all incens'd with love,
With wonder, and amazement, did her beautie proove.[11]

61

Over her hung a canopie of state,
Not of rich tissew, nor of spangled gold,
But of a substance, though not animate,
Yet of a heav'nly, and spirituall mould,
That onely eyes of Spirits might behold:
Such light as from maine rocks of diamound,
Shooting their sparks at Phebus, might rebound,
And little Angels, holding hands, daunc't all around.

62

Seemed those little sprights, through nimblesse bold,
The stately canopy bore on their wings,[12]
But them it selfe, as pendants, did uphold,
Besides the crownes of many famous kings,
Among the rest, thear David ever sings,
And now, with yeares growne young, renewes his layes
Unto his golden harpe, and ditties playes,
Psalming aloud in well tun'd songs his Makers prayse.

---

in the *N. E. D.* Fletcher, clearly, conceives this headdress as a veil (cyprus was a dark diaphanous material) in which the stars are set as spangles. He is here perhaps influenced by Spenser, who (VII, vii, 5-6) represents Nature as veiled, either "To hide the terror of her uncouth hew From mortall eyes" or because her beauty is such that man cannot look upon it directly but can see it only "like an image in a glass." There is no suggestion of a veil in Alan. Neither is there any mention of the Milky Way, which Fletcher uses here for purposes of wit, as he did the rainbow in the preceding stanza.

[11] In Alan's account Nature's diadem or tiara is made up of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the seven planets (of which the sun is one), each elaborately described and all in motion. Fletcher again exercises his wit: substitutes for the sun the face of Mercy, whose beauty is such that the "heavenly veile" of the constellations, "that else should nimbly moove," is held motionless in wonder. He has apparently forgotten that the sun is present in stz. 57.

[12] The "third heaven" of these last two stanzas—the empyrean, appar-

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II

The resemblance of *Christs Victorie in Heaven* to *Mutabilitie* is for the most part not in the language or imagery, nor even in the figures and set descriptions, but in the general conception.

In *Mutabilitie* we have the rebel Titaness climbing to Jove's court in heaven and there arguing, or rather asserting, in the presence of the assembled gods her right to rule the world by virtue of her descent from the earliest deities. She makes a violent speech of some length. Jove answers, also at length; at first angrily, shaking

> His nectar-deawed locks, with which the skyes
> And all the world beneath for terror quooke,
> And eft his burning levin-brand in hand he tooke;

but presently, moved by her beauty, he adopts a milder tone, and urges her to

> seeke by grace and goodnesse to obtaine
> That place from which by folly Titan fell;
> There-to thou maist perhaps, if so thou faine,
> Have Jove thy gracious lord and soveraigne.[18]

Mutabilitie scorns his "proffers vaine" and demands that her case be carried to the court of last appeal, that of "the god of Nature." Jove grudgingly acquiesces, and bids "Dan Phoebus scribe her appellation scale." In the second canto we have the trial of the case before Dame Nature, the "great goddesse," with

ently—is not in Alan, who has no "canopy" above the diadem of stars and planets. Yet the suggestion for it is to be found in the circling motion of Alan's diadem. The little winged angels suspended from its edge, "holding hands" and dancing "all around," are pretty, but when we try to imagine David in the same position the effect is grotesque, not to say ridiculous—something like that of Hero's singing garters in Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

[18] It is hard to resist the impression that Spenser is here making the figure of Jove slightly comic—an amiable elderly statesman, very amenable to the charms of beauty in the other sex, assertive but not too logical about the claims of legitimacy, and at the end obliged, grumblingly, to permit an appeal from his jurisdiction despite his earth-shaking locks and his levin-brand. If that is Spenser's intention, he has warrant for it in Homer, whose gods have considerably less dignity than his human heroes. No such notion, of course, could enter into Fletcher's conception of the court of heaven.

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Mutabilitie and Jove pleading their respective causes. The scene is no longer heaven but Arlo Hill in Ireland; and there are assembled for the occasion not only the gods of Olympus but also

> those that all the other world doe fill,
> And rule both sea and land unto their will,

and all the living creatures of the earth as well. Mutabilitie's argument and a mask that she is allowed to introduce as an exhibit occupy most of the canto. She sums up in the forty-seventh stanza; Jove is given but one stanza in which to present his case; and Mutabilitie returns to the charge in eight more stanzas, in one of which she cross-examines Jove to prove that he is earth-born and therefore subject to her rule. In the last two stanzas Nature gives her judgment, confirming—despite the evidence, the legal mind would say—Jove's title to the sovereignty. Two more stanzas, which are printed as a fragment of "the VIII Canto, unperfite," are really an epilog, in which the poet, meditating on the mutability of all things knowable, prays for the coming of that time Nature has foretold,

> when no more change shall be,
> But stedfast rest of all things, firmely stayd
> Upon the pillours of eternity,
> That is contrayr to Mutabilitie:
> For all that moveth doth in change delight:
> But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:
> O that great Sabbaoth God graunt me that Sabaoths sight![14]

Fletcher also presents a case argued in the court of heaven—the case of man. The pleaders are Justice and Mercy. Justice conducts the prosecution, lodging a violent indictment against that "Rebell" and "traitor," "that wretch, beast, caytive, monster Man," worse than "the senselesse Earth, the Serpent, dog, and catte," setting forth his persistent wickedness and ingratitude from the beginning, and how "all the Creatures" (in the words of the marginal argument) have "disleagued themselves with him," so that, "beeing destitute of all hope, or any remedie, he can look for

[14] Fletcher (*C. V.*, I, 6) has the same confusion of *Sabbath* and *Sabaoth*; but since the *N. E. D.* gives four examples of it from the sixteenth and five from the seventeenth century, the coincidence is hardly significant.

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nothing, but a fearful sentence." At the conclusion of her speech

> the Almighties selfe, as he would teare
> The earth, and her firme basis quite in sunder,
> Flam'd all in just revenge, and mightie thunder.

Then Mercy enters the counter-plea. Her beauty, raiment, and qualities are described at length. In her speech "she translates the principal fault unto the Devill; and, repeating Justice her aggravation of mans sinne, mitigates it 1. by a contrarie inference, 2. by interessing her selfe in the cause, and Christ, that is as sufficient to satisfie, as Man was impotent. Whom shee celebrates from the time of his nativitie." Her plea is so successful that

> the mightie thunder dropt away
> From Gods unwarie arme, now milder growne,
> And melted into teares, as if to pray
> For pardon, and for pittie, it had knowne.

Such, in bare outline, is the plan of the two compositions. The temper of the two is not the same; Spenser's is contemplative and quasi-philosophical, sometimes, it seems to me, not quite serious, while Fletcher's is fervidly religious. Nor do I mean to claim for Spenser any special originality in his idea of presenting a problem in cosmic philosophy as a case to be tried in the high court of the universe. The general notion goes back, on one side, to the Christian concept of the Last Judgment and, on the other, to scenes in the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid;* and in Spenser's own time the sonneteers, Shakespeare among them, wore threadbare the conceit of lovers' controversies as cases in court. But I do not know any other instance in the poetry of that time in which a philosophical or ethical question is presented with such fulness and formality as an argument before the supreme judge, with both heaven and earth as background. For in both poems the scene is first heaven and afterwards earth. Spenser makes the transition from the celestial to the terrestrial setting plausibly enough by the device of an appeal, and he manages, like Homer, to make the latter even more imposing than the former. Fletcher is less happy. Mercy, before she begins her plea for man, looks down upon earth and sees there Repentance, in sackcloth and ashes, "boyling her heart in her owne lustfull blood" and supported by Faith. The sight animates Mercy to the defense. In the course of her speech

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she informs the Almighty that his "thrice-honour'd Sonne" "now beneath doth strey" and proceeds, in the past tense, to relate the Nativity, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, the birth of John the Baptist, and (here slipping back into the present tense) the Presentation in the Temple:

> Sing, Simeon, sing, sing Simeon, sing apace.

This is the end of her speech. The Almighty is softened, and the canto closes with Mercy looking down upon the scene of Christ's life on earth:

> So downe shee let her eyelids fall, to shine
> Upon the rivers of bright Palestine,
> Whose woods drop honie, and her rivers skip with wine.

The next canto proceeds with the narrative of the Temptation, though not until Mercy, descending on the wings of her Graces, has incorporated herself and them into the person of Christ. The clumsiness of the transition from heaven to earth, the confusion of real with allegorical figures, and a fondness for Marinistic conceits that shows him far gone on the road that ended in Crashaw, are evidences of Fletcher's artistic inferiority; but they do not, I think, obscure his indebtedness to Spenser for the general idea.

III

Fletcher apparently knew the *De Planctu Naturae* at first hand. At any rate he did not find the allegory of Nature's array which he borrowed for the use of Mercy in Spenser. On the other hand, as I have tried to show in the second section of this paper, there is reason to believe that he was acquainted with the *Mutabilitie* cantos before he planned the first canto of *Christs Victorie*. It is a natural inference that it was Spenser's mention of Alan—

> So hard it is for any living wight
> All her array and vestiments to tell,
> That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright,
> The pure well head of poesie did dwell)
> In his *Foules Parley* durst not with it mel,
> But it transferd to Alane, who he thought
> Had in his *Plaint of Kinde* describ'd it well:
> Which who will read set forth so as it ought,
> Go seek he out that Alane where he may be sought . . .

that sent Fletcher to the *De Planctu*. As a matter of fact Spenser

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had not "meddled" with Alan's description much more than Chaucer had; but Fletcher found it much to his liking and took it over, as we have seen, with very little change.

The two cantos of *Mutabilitie* first appear in the 1609 (the first folio) edition of *The Faerie Queene,* published by Mathew Lownes, with the statement that they "appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of *The Faerie Queene,*" but with no account of how they came into the publisher's hands. Although their authenticity has never been seriously disputed, we know nothing of their history—of when they were composed or how they were preserved during the ten years that elapsed between Spenser's death and their publication. Fletcher's poem was published, complete, at Cambridge in 1610. If, as I have suggested, Fletcher was prompted by the reading of *Mutabilitie* to "seek out" Alan, and, having sought and found him much to his liking, proceeded to the composition of the first canto of his own poem, completed it and the other three cantos —2120 lines—and published the whole work the next year,[15] he must have been a rapid worker. Or did he know the *Mutabilitie* cantos before they were printed?

As I have said, we know nothing of the history of these cantos before their publication in 1609. Collier, in his edition of Spenser (I, cxx), opines that Lownes brought out the 1609 folio in part because "he had procured in manuscript, perhaps through some of the friends or relations of Spenser, two additional cantos." And he further assumes that Lownes numbered the cantos: "we presume that, although ten years after Spenser's death, he had authority for so treating them, possibly in the shape of a note or notes upon the manuscript he had in some unexplained manner obtained." Todd, in the variorum edition of 1805 (I, clxxvii), had thrown out the suggestion that "Gabriel Harvey might be the editor" of the 1609 volume, and Grosart (I, xv) speaks of a "floating tradition" to the same effect. But Todd practically withdraws his suggestion in his next sentence, and J. C. Smith in the Oxford (1909) edition

[15] So far as I know there is no means of dating the two publications more closely than by the year. The 1609 folio of *The Faerie Queene* does not appear in Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Register.* The possible lapse of time, then, between the two publications ranges from practically none at all to two years. But even if we accept the latter calculation, it gives scant time for all the processes involved in the hypothesis.

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of *The Faerie Queene* finds evidence in the text of the folio that its editor "did not belong to the generation of Harvey and Spenser." Indeed, there is nothing to show that the friendship between the poet and the scholar survived the latter's intemperate controversy with Greene and Nashe in the early nineties.[16] Otherwise we might be tempted to construct a romance of the ardent young disciple at Cambridge seeking out his master's old friend in his retirement at Saffron Walden—which is only some twenty-five miles from Cambridge—and there finding and reading the manuscript of *Mutabilitie,* and then urging Harvey to send it to Lownes for publication. Fletcher must have known of the early friendship between Spenser and Harvey, not only from *The Shepheards Calender,* but from university tradition; and there is no improbability in his having made a pious pilgrimage to Saffron Walden to talk with Hobbinol. But there is great improbability, from all we know of Harvey, that if he had as valuable a piece of Spenser's as the *Mutabilitie* cantos in his possession he would have waited ten years to publish it. And so the suggestion that Fletcher had access to the cantos before they were published must remain merely a pleasing possibility until some industrious searcher of forgotten archives unearths the history of their coming into Lownes's hands. In view

[16] The Hobbinol of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* seems to be merely a figure retained, like that of Colin himself, from the now famous *Shepheards Calender.* The latest direct evidence of the friendship from Spenser's side is the sonnet to Harvey dated at Dublin, "this xviij of July: 1586" and subscribed "Your deuoted frend, during life, Edmund Spenser"; and it should be remembered that this was printed (in the *Foure Letters* of 1592) by Harvey, not by Spenser. G. C. Moore Smith (*Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia,* p. 58) infers from a note in one of Harvey's books in which Spenser is represented as regretting his ignorance of mathematics, "praesertim ex quo vidit Blagravi nostri Margaritam mathematicam" (Blagrave's book was published in 1585, and Spenser was not likely, Moore Smith says, to have seen it in Ireland), that "there was a meeting between the two old friends when Spenser was in England about 1590, or on his subsequent visit." But inasmuch as the sonnet shows that the two were in correspondence at least as late as a year after Blagrave's book was published, it is perhaps as likely that Spenser did see it in Ireland, by Harvey's advice or procurement; and even if Moore Smith's inference is right there is no reason for placing Harvey's note later than 1590. There is no evidence beyond the pastoral convention of Hobbinol in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* that there was any intercourse between the two after the *Foure Letters* were published.

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of the recent discovery of the facts about Marlowe's death it is not too much to hope that this mystery also will some time or other be cleared up.

Since the pages above were written, Miss Evelyn Albright has published in this journal [17] a paper intended to show that the *Mutabilitie* cantos were written and submitted to Harvey as early as 1580, were adversely criticised by him, and were in consequence rejected as part of *The Faerie Queene.* If her argument is accepted, it will follow that Harvey very likely had a copy of the poem, and I might welcome the evidence in support of the romance sketched in the last section of my paper; but there are serious not to say insuperable difficulties in the way.

Her argument is based upon the fact that one of the items in Harvey's *Letter-Book* is a draft of a letter from Harvey to Spenser (unnamed, but there is no doubt that Spenser is meant) containing the judgment of "a company of honest good fellowes, and at that tyme reasonable honest quaffers" "at myne hostisses by the fyersyde," of whom Harvey was one and played secretary, upon Spenser's "lastweekes letter, or rather bill of complaynte." The content of Spenser's letter is severely criticised by the company; and much of the matter discussed is kindred to that dealt with in *Mutabilitie*—the law of change, the physics and ethics of the cosmos. I must refer the reader to Miss Albright's paper for the particulars, which sometimes certainly move in the same circle of ideas with which Spenser deals in *Mutabilitie.* Now Miss Albright believes that this letter of Harvey's was prompted by and is a critical answer to the cantos that we know; and, since it is clear that this part of the *Letter-Book* belongs to the year 1579-80, "that the Cantos of Mutability were read by Harvey to his circle and criticised by them between the summer of 1579 and that of 1580."

To this it might be answered that Harvey speaks of a "letter, or rather bill of complaynte," and that there is nothing to show that this "letter" was a poem of over a thousand lines. It may have been and more likely was a much briefer production, an actual letter in which Spenser held forth upon the fickleness of man's

[17] "Spenser's Reason for Rejecting the Cantos of Mutability," *Studies in Philology,* XXV, 93-127.

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estate and speculated upon the nature of the four elements, for those are the subjects with which Harvey's lucubration is concerned. Indeed, if we remember that this part of the *Letter-Book* is really a draft of that publication (to be put out as surreptitiously given to the world by Spenser against the author's will and judgment)—with the idea of which Harvey was then playing, and that, as the earthquake letter shows, he rather fancied himself as a philosophical physicist, we may quite plausibly suspect that the letter is made by Harvey out of the whole cloth, as an exhibition of his learning and versatility—a brief symposium of the sort so familiar to the Renaissance. And even if we assume that what Harvey was writing about was a poem sent him by Spenser, it does not at all follow that it was the *Mutabilitie* cantos. The attitude that Harvey rebukes is, as Miss Albright herself points out, that of the *Tears of the Muses,* which is generally accepted as early work; and there is nothing distinctive in what either Harvey in the letter or Spenser in *Mutabilitie* says about the four elements—it is the scientific commonplace of the time.

There is much more specific and compelling ground than this, however, for rejecting the date 1579-80 for the *Mutabilitie;* evidence in the cantos themselves.[18] For not only is the setting Irish, but it is in a part of Ireland which there is no reason to suppose that Spenser knew anything about until he went to live on his grant at Kilcolman, not earlier than 1586; and in the poem he knows it in topographic detail, knows the small streams and their particular characters, as is clear in the little myth of the Fanchin and the Molana. It is his *home;* the mountain range lying back of his estate is "my old father, Mole."

Still further: there are two specific references in Canto VI to *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* which cannot have been written

[18] That it is the *Mutabilitie* cantos as we have them that Miss Albright means is apparent in several places, as where she mentions "the Irish setting in both cantos (on Arlo Hill)" among the reasons for believing that the poem was intended as part of *The Faerie Queene,* or says that "the Arlo Hill setting, the account of Ireland's happy past (stanza 38), and Cynthia's punishment of a part of Ireland favor the idea that Irish policies were to have been the main theme" of the legend of Constancy, and suggests that Harvey disapproved of the poem as seeming to criticise Elizabeth's vacillating policy in Ireland.

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before 1591, and was not published till 1595. In stanza 36 he speaks of

> . . . my old father Mole, whom shepheards quill
> Renowmed hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill;

and in stanza 40 he is even more definite:

> Molanna, daughter of old Father Mole,
> And sister unto Mulla, faire and bright,
> Unto whose bed false Bregog whylome stole,
> That Shepheard Colin dearely did condole,
> And made her lucklesse loves well knowne to be.

The reference, of course, is to the story of Bregog and Mulla which occupies ll. 104-155 of *Colin Clout*. And both references ("renowmed," "well knowne") indicate that they were written after *Colin Clout* was published; that is, in 1595 or later.

For these reasons I cannot accept Miss Albright's notion that *Mutabilitie* was composed before Spenser went to Ireland, nor, by consequence, that Harvey's letter is an attack upon it. That ideas found in *Mutabilitie* are also found elsewhere in Spenser is indisputable, but that is hardly a valid argument against its having been written after 1595; and its temper seems to me to be late, akin to that of the last two books of *The Faerie Queene* and the two later *Hymnes*.

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MILTON IN POLAND

By Stanislas Helsztyński

The first mention of Milton in Poland occurs in Prince Adam George Czartoryski's, the uncle of the King Stanislas Augustus, work entitled *The Gentlemen's Catechism* (1770), which served as a literary primer in the Military Academy for young noblemen, a school at that time recently founded in Warsaw. Milton was also referred to as the first English poet in Peter Świtkowski's *Warsaw Magazine* (1782-84). The latter always showed a tendency to oppose the French influence and sought to introduce British ideas and British authors to the Poles. All the Polish essayists on poetry, such as Francis Karpiński, Ignatius Krasicki, Francis Xaverius Dmochowski, Philip Golański, dwelt on Milton in all their compendiums; the poet and historian Adam Naruszewicz prevailed at the same time on one of them, F. X. Dmochowski, to translate portions of the *Paradise Lost,* which, however, was published only many years later.

The original Polish productions show little or no influence of Milton, the difference between the spirit of the Catholic Poles and the English Puritan Bible readers being too great to allow a close sympathy between the author of the *Paradise Lost* and the Polish poets. A consideration of Milton in Poland must consequently be limited chiefly to the translations of his works, which are, of course, the only proof of his being known and esteemed on the banks of the Vistula. These translations are not numerous; they amount to no more than fifteen issues altogether. This paper gives for the first time a complete list of them with the aim of determining their sources, character, and aesthetic value.

The first translation was that of the *Paradise Lost* which appeared in 1791, a momentous year on account of the Polish Constitution of the third of May. The author, Father Hyacinth Przybylski (1756-1819), Professor in the University in Cracow, a hard worker and translator of Pope, Gessner, Klopstock, Camoëns, Voltaire, addressed the King in the Preface on this happy event in the Polish politics and congratulated him on his success. The cause of the learned author's gratitude was well founded, since he

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was appointed to the Government's Educational Commission, the first ministry for educational purposes that was ever founded in any of the European states, and was thus enabled to travel through Germany, Switzerland, France, and England and to lay the foundation of his linguistic accomplishments made manifest in the scores of his successive translations.

His *Paradise Lost* must be considered as the greatest effort a Pole has ever made to adapt Milton's masterpiece to his own native langauge. The majority of the Polish writers up to the present day use in quoting Milton, the words of Przybylski. This distinction is due to the fact that Przybylski did his work directly from the English and that he succeeded in faithfully conveying the very spirit of the original poem. There are loftiness, a noble strain, and a grandeur in it. The language he used was not badly adapted to that spoken by the angels and demons. He wrote a highly ornamented, inflated, and somewhat heavy style that corresponded with Milton's heroic, sustained grandiloquence.

We must add, however, that Przybylski's version was, on the whole, not a correct one and that its actual merits are rather moderate. It shows many unpardonable blunders. Przybylski is known in the history of the Polish literature as the most hazardous innovator in the matter of style; his neologisms acquired him a somewhat doubtful fame. The Polish language seemed to him a rough material that could be freely moulded into various shapes. "Every sensible Pole will be astonished," says he, "how far his speech is malleable and plastic when he realizes that thousands of seemingly new forms can be created by tracing a monosyllabic stem through all the suffixes and abbreviations." Przybylski creates according to this idea a mass of words that had never been heard of before; he freely changes to his own purpose the grammar in all its divisions. Only a scanty portion of this work proved to be vital and to have enriched the Polish language; the rest only served to disqualify all his writings. I found in the *Paradise Lost* in Book II twenty-seven substantives of his own invention, twelve similar adjectives and nine verbs. There are in Book IV thirty-seven substantives, twenty-nine adjectives and eighteen verbs of the same kind. He did not hesitate to include in that fatal list a great many provincialisms, bad rhymes, as well as encroachments on the rules of flexion and syntax. It stamps his work with a rather bad

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taste. He is bold enough to try to embellish his translation with his own additions, the 10,565 lines of Milton's poem attaining under his pen the number of 13,132. It is due, no doubt, partly to the monosyllabic character of the English language, but chiefly to the translator's amplifications.

The critics were rather severe in pronouncing their judgments upon Przybylski's work in his day as well as in the recent times. Professor Sinko compares him to a translating machine;[1] Ignatius Chrzanowski calls his version one more failure;[2] the Count Tarnowski, the late rector of the University of Cracow, is sorry for its very existence. The translator was satirized in the year 1805 by J. Gorczyczewski and at an earlier date by F. X. Dmochowski, an essayist, poet, and personal foe of Przybylski. The translation, however, in spite of its many faults, has real merits. Its descriptions are strong, graphic, and picturesque. Milton is a poet of light. His blindness caused him to see everything exclusively in black and white. We have therefore series of dawns and twilights, sunbeams, and stars. He treats light seen in cosmic phenomenon not as one reflected upon earthly objects but rather a supernatural one. Przybylski finds in the translation of these descriptions excellent equivalents in the Polish language that adorn his phrases with gems of real beauty.

Przybylski published in the year 1792 a Polish version of the *Paradise Regained.* It contains the same faults and merits as the *Paradise Lost* and is the only existing translation of this epic.

The second version of *Paradise Lost* was issued in 1803 in Warsaw by Francis Xaverius Dmochowski (1762-1808), foe of Przybylski, referred to above, a priest who later on turned layman and took a wife. He is the author of the celebrated *Essay on Poetry.* He says about his own version: "It was my mind to translate Milton into Polish. The famous Naruszewicz encouraged me to this task. I accordingly devoted myself to it in the year 1786, but other works compelled me at first to interrupt and then to give it up thoroughly. I publish but some portions of this eminent poet who after Homer has perhaps shown the most creative genius."[3] We know what were the tasks that hindered Dmochow-

[1] Eneis, *Bibljoteka Narodowa,* Cracow, 1925.
[2] *The Book,* Warsaw, 1903.
[3] *Works,* Warsaw, 1803, Preface.

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ski in his work: after publishing in 1785 his Polish version of Eduard Young's *The Last Day* from Letourneur, he yielded to his patriotic impulse caused by the political events that occurred during the Four Years' Diet (1788-1792). He then took part in Kościuszko's Insurrection and after the third partition of Poland in 1795 became an exile, enduring many privacies till he was suffered to return at last to Warsaw, then for a short time under the rule of the King of Prussia.

Dmochowski's attempt contains but few parts of the *Paradise Lost,* namely Book I complete; from Book II the Council of the demons (1-526) and Satan's flight from the gates of hell through the chaos to the new world (870-1054); from Book III the poet's lament over his blindness, the Council in Heaven, and the Hymn of the angels (1-416); from Book IV Satan's soliloquy at the sight of Eden, the description of the Garden, the first loves of Adam and Eve (1-776).

Dmochowski published scanty portions of this version in the *New Warsaw Review,* a periodical he managed himself, namely the beginning of Book I in the year 1801, the Review of Satan's troops in 1802.

The description of Adam and Eve's paradisiac beauty has, owing probably to their alluded nakedness, come undeservedly to be enclosed in the manuscript 930 in the library Ossolineum at Lwów among the most indecent collection of the eighteenth-century obscenities copied by a Polish amateur.

Dmochowski's adaptation is based upon the French translation in prose by Louis Racine (1692-1763), the last son of the famous dramatist. The French work followed with accuracy the meaning of the original, trying however to give it a certain additional polish in accordance with the French fashion of the epoch. It failed, however, to give a true idea of Milton, his wild grandeur, his abrupt rhapsodic style, and his characteristic features. The same judgment refers literally to Dmochowski's attempt. His Alexandrine rhymes are smooth, easy-flowing and polished; they lack, however, the strength, freshness, and sublimity of Milton. The task of initiating the Polish reader with Milton's work proved thus a failure. The version was reprinted with the rest of the author's work in 1805 and 1826.

I found a portion of a third Polish version of the *Paradise Lost*

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in the *Wilno Review* dated in the year 1827. It contains but the three hundred beginning lines of Book I. The version is based on the original and is, according to my opinion, the work of Leon Borowski, professor in the University in Wilno and teacher of the great poet Mickiewicz. Borowski had already in 1819 translated and published Milton's two lyrics *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso.* In a dissertation, submitted to the University of Warsaw in 1925, I tried to back my opinion concerning the anonymous authorship of the version by some convincing arguments, which for lack of space can not be repeated here.

The city of Wilno played a prominent part in spreading Milton's fame throughout Poland; it counts among its issues the versions of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* in 1819, the above mentioned fragment of the *Paradise Lost* from 1827, after which there appeared *Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso,* together with other minor poems edited in 1830; Milton's *Sonnets* appeared in Wilno in the year 1850. The city of Wilno in this time was noted for the warm welcome it paid to Western literary productions. Its atmosphere was especially favorable to English ideas that were highly commended in the *Wilno Review,* an official periodical of the professors at the Wilno University, many of whom were of foreign origin. This highly appreciated monthly gave a faithful account of the English literary life. There appeared versions of Ossian, Home, Hutcheson, Twining, Beattie, Maria Edgeworth. It contained quotations from the *Spectator,* and from the poems of Dryden and Goldsmith. It presented the public with accounts of English voyages and novels that appeared on the banks of the Thames. Its pages contained extracts from scientific works that were contemporaneously published in England. No wonder that Milton's poetry was held paramount among the English items, the more so since the readers at the University devoted to him many occasional lectures and exercises. So did from 1810-1818 the well-known engraver John Saunders, so his follower Benjamin Haustein till 1830.[4] There sprang from this centre some attempts deserving a closer notice in the matter of tracing Milton's influence in Poland.

We must begin with Borowski's (1784-1846) *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* that appeared in the *Wilno Review* in 1819 and in 1820

[4] Bieliński, *Fontes and commentationes of the Univ. of Wilno,* II, 732.

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in a distinct edition. It is a most remarkable translation, highly commendable for its accuracy, skill, and sonorous harmony. It was done directly from the English, and it shows therefore the strongest adherence to the English prototype, not only in spirit, but in the outward form also. It has the same strophic structure, Milton's beginning three, four and five iambs being moulded in the eight, eleven and thirteen syllabic Polish lines, foot by foot, according to the prosody of the original, the rest of the poem flowing in a four-accented rythm containing many treasures of pure poetic imagery. It is astonishing to observe how the translator could insert so much poetry in his scanty metre and at the same time manage it with such a charming ease and freedom, remaining always true to the spirit of the Polish language. Modifications were made only in the names of persons mentioned in the lyric, Polish denominations replacing the Greek shepherds. Borowski's *Il Penseroso* is characterized by skilful disposition of caesural breaks, a perfect mastery of the spirit, and an artistic wording. He develops there a special art of dropping the copulas and of gliding from paragraph to paragraph. There is conciseness as well as exquisite melody. The aim of the version being to obtain for its author a lectureship at the University, it was therefore richly adorned with profuse quotations taken from Statius, Hesiodus, Cassiodorus, and others. Considering Borowski's literary productions, we must give precedence to his translations, putting aside his original verses. His Miltonic translations, Byron's *Lament of Tasso* and Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* are masterworks.

One is tempted to oppose to Borowski's translation that of Julian Niemcewicz (1751-1841), published with other works in 1820, re-edited 1838, 1886. It contains the same two Miltonic lyrics, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*; it gives us in the Polish versification but a poor idea of the beauty of the original, as it is marred by periphrases, expletives, additions, abridgements, and the like. Niemcewicz was under strong influence of the British ideas, which must be attributed to his repeated voyages to England with Prince Czartoryski and to his marriage with Mrs. Levingston-Kean, an American lady. Notwithstanding that, this excellent translator of Pope, Gray, Thomson, the successful imitator of Lewis' *Tales of Wonder and of Terror*, proved to be a complete failure in his effort to translate Milton. The gallant aid-de-camp of General Kości-

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uszko, the faithful compagnon in the latter's voyage to the United States of America, recently called into existence, he did not possess the gifts necessary to appreciate Milton's lofty strain, to reach its beauty, and to preserve carefully its character in converting Milton's epic into his native language. Himself an ardent patriot, he undertook the hopeless task of polonising Milton, of turning his two world-known lyrics into a Polish landscape scenery. He presents us with supplementary additions to Milton's description, underlining thus some features of his own country, inserting, for instance, in the *L'Allegro* a detailed description of familiar Polish hunting scenes. On the contrary, he passes over completely Miltonic rural passages in the *L'Allegro*, the merry hamlet's bells, the jolly rebecks, the dancing in the chequered shade, the stories of the fairy Mab and the Goblins and their misdeeds. He omits these thirty-six lines of the finest poetry, of the richest folklore, giving instead in a careless nobleman's gesture a dry remark on Polish subject servants. We cannot but disapprove such a mutilation of the original. There is lack of reverence that mars the passage concerning Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, for whom have been in the Polish language substituted Ziółkowski and Zdanowicz, two Polish nineteenth-century actors. *Il Penseroso* underwent a similar operation. The passage, *Hail, divinest Melancholy,* Memnon, the starred Ethiop queen, the Sea-Nymphs, Saturn, Vesta, twenty lines all studded with ancient classical gems, the costly workmanship of a Renaissance jewel, displeased the prosaic Polish writer. The translation is a superficial one and does not give an adequate idea of the original. Its beauty is lost, its style marred, and the contents arranged in a reversed order. Milton's mention of the stage gives Niemcewicz opportunity to insert twelve lines containing praise for the Polish theatre. He does this only to suppress the following eighteen verses, treating classic and Chaucerian themes, and to sum up in a crippled language the powerful strains of Milton's final clauses.

A still worse translator than Niemcewicz proved to be the abbot of Troki and prelate of the Uniate Church, Father Benedictus Lenartowicz (1774-1836), who in the year 1830 published in Wilno a paper entitled *Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso and Other Minor Poems of John Milton.* The collection contains in addition to the above mentioned: *Upon the Circumcision, On Time, At a Solemn Music, Song on May Morning, On the Death of a Fair Infant*

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dying of a Cough, At a Vacation Exercise in the College, An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester, An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatic Poet W. Shakespeare, On the University Carrier, Another on the Same, and fourteen *Sonnets.*

The pamphlet dedicated with much undeserved flattery to Pelikan, a sworn enemy of the Poles and Rector of the University of Wilno during the persecution of the Polish students by the Russian curator Nowosilcow, brought no honor to the author's name. The worst solecisms, a complete disregard of the etymology and the Polish syntax, strong inflexions of the White-Russian dialect, all rendered the production a thoroughly worthless one. It is a pity that the Abbot's enthusiasm for Milton was thus wasted. The cause of his failure must be partly attributed to his erroneous choice of versification, as he couched the Odes, the Epigraphs, the Elegies together with the three greater poems in Dante's terza rima.

There remains but the last Wilno production concerning Milton, namely, that of Constantine Piotrowski, *Specimens of Shakespeare, Milton and Byron's Sonnets together with the Hymn on the Nativity,* 1850. The four sonnets of Milton were: *On W. Shakespeare, To a Nightingale, On his Blindness, On his Deceased Wife.* The most successful translation proved to be that dedicated to the nightingale, which was a faithful copy of the melancholic mood expressed in the original. Shakespeare's Epitaph was rendered not so exactly, its contents being abbreviated to twelve lines. The two last adaptations differ considerably from their prototype. On the contrary, the Hymn of which Lenartowicz twenty years ago produced only some selections, received now a perfect Polish form. The translation proved to be successful in the matter of accuracy, melody, and appropriate wording.

There are no more Polish translations from Milton at the moment. Some biographical details, the fate that befell his writings, succeeded in arousing more curiosity on the part of the Polish public for Milton. Some articles about the great man continued to appear from time to time in a newspaper. The *Varieties,* a literary supplement of the *Gazeta Lwowska,* heralded in the year 1833 the appearance of a new translation of the *Paradise Lost,* this time into the Russian by the poet John Tholachson, in 1835, that of Chateaubriand. There appeared in 1837 a detailed account of Milton's life, and his last will was reprinted in 1840.

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The bicentenary of Milton's death failed to awaken an increased interest for the poet. We can record, however, an article in the *Illustrated Weekly*, Warsaw, 1876, a translation from Alfred Sterne's work, *History of the Revolution in England*, bearing the title *Milton and Cromwell*.

The tercentenary of the poet's birth proved to be more productive. There appeared in 1908 in the Warsaw literary periodical *Sfinx* a fragment of *Samson Agonistes*, translated into blank verse by Ladislas Bartkiewicz, giving an accurate idea of the original. More important than this fragmentary work is the publication in the following year of *Milton and his Age* by the well-known and eminent Polish Anglicist, Professor Roman Dyboski. This first Polish monography concerning Milton gives the reader an accurate, thorough, and highly interesting account of the poet's life and works. Strange enough, the homage paid to Milton on this occasion, a highly distinguished and valuable work, can be traced to the same university which was responsible for the first version of the *Paradise Lost* in 1791.

Some years earlier, in 1902, Milton's great epic acquired in Poland more notoriety, reaching its fourth Polish version, made this time by Ladislas Bartkiewicz, the latter being translator of *Samson Agonistes* and author of an essay on Milton's work. The version was published in Warsaw in 1902, being reviewed in succession by two prominent Cracow scholars, by Professor Ignatius Chrzanowski in the bibliographical Warsaw review *The Book*, 1903, and by Count Stanislas Tarnowski, the Rector of the University of Cracow, in the *Polish Review*, 1905.

Bartkiewicz's blank verse strives to imitate in style and outward form the original, and is on the whole a very accurate copy of it, being made directly from the English by a great admirer of the poet, whose Catholic feelings were, however, so strong that they led him to the unusual liberty of correcting, modifying or even omitting some passages enclosed in the original which seemed to him, a zealous Catholic, rather too shocking. In my dissertation, *The Polish Translations of Milton and Pope*, presented to the Humanistic Faculty of the University of Warsaw, I point out at length the characteristic features of the version which, according to my personal opinion, is worded in a too prosaic, every-day style that almost borders upon the commonplace. I do agree with

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Tarnowski who, pointing to this rather prosaic character of Bartkiewicz' translation, says: "I maintain that the two first books of the *Paradise Lost* would be equal to their original should Krasiński, one among all the Polish poets, have effected their translation. Should Slowacki have translated some of the magnificent descriptions of the mornings and of the evenings of Eden, he would have imparted to them some romantic colour which they lack but they would read like a revelation. Bartkiewicz does not possess the inspired versification that characterises the passionate tones of Krasiński, nor does he equal Slowacki in the soft-flowing harmonious style in which he was unsurpassed master; he did what he could while lacking all these gifts.[5]

The present writer prepared for the Bibljoteka Narodowa, a well-known Cracow editorial Institute, a new edition of the best Polish translations from Milton. They contain thoroughly or in selections: *Paradise Lost* by Bartkiewicz, *Paradise Regained* by Przybylski, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* by Borowski, *The Hymn* by Piotrowski, some *Sonnets* by Piotrowski and Lenartowicz. The editor's own version includes: *Lycidas, Arcades, Comus, On Time, At a Solemn Music,* eight *Sonnets,* and some fragments of Milton's prose. The above-named publication will appear in the course of the year 1929.

Warsaw.

[5] *Polish Review,* Cracow, 1905.

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MILTON'S TRIBUTE TO VIRGIL

By Edgar H. Riley

The world of western culture will soon be offering its bimillennial tribute to the great Mantuan. As a student of English literature I plan to contribute a garland of Virgiliana from the English poet who made the fullest, most original, and most poetic use of Virgilian art. Here, in anticipation of that complete tribute, I have brought together Milton's scattered references to Virgil in an effort to arrive at and interpret his estimate of the Latin poet.

We might expect a wealth of material. Virgil's influence upon Milton was fundamental and enduring; and Milton has left no meagre biographia literaria, no uncritical account of his studies, models, and sources of inspiration. Then, too, as Professor Rand has shown, Milton's creative interests and artistic progress were closely parallel to Virgil's.[1] Both poets began with the occasional, the contemporary, and the personal. Both revealed a half-suppressed vein of satire, but also an apocalyptical tendency: an elegy sent them both to the stars; the birth of a child, to a return of the Golden Age. They wrote pastoral poetry with neither its original measure of realism nor its decadent affectation; it was the noteworthy accomplishment of the maturing poet.[2] But though contact with rural happiness and the imagery of Theocritus had nursed in both an idyllic fancy, an epic note, early sounding, occasionally turned pastoral elegy or eclogue into stern protest, and was hardly to be silenced. They were ambitious, high-minded youths; each was attracted by philosophy and science; each was eager to secure fame for himself and his country by a great poem he felt divinely impelled to write. The idea of national epic haunted both youthful minds; but gradually the purely national motive gave way to the political and religious, to the "mythical and ideal." Virgil's epic was founded upon *pietas,* Milton's upon faith.[3]

[1] E. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication," *Studies in Philology,* XIX (1922), 109-135.

[2] Cf. J. H. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," *PMLA.*, XXV (1910), 403-447; George Norlin, "The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy," *American Journal of Philology,* XXXII (1911), 294-312.

[3] Cf. W. Y. Sellar, *Virgil,* pp. 81-83; E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

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Both epics were works of profound scholarship and a most painstaking and conscious art. Each poet was pre-eminently the most cultivated man of his age. Virgil was an eager student of all Greek and Latin literature, poetics, and rhetoric; possibly of prophetic passages in the Hebrew scriptures; of philosophy and science, especially, it is said, of astronomy and medicine; of history, myth, legend, and ceremonial lore.[4] Milton knew the literatures not only of Hebrew and classical and post-classical antiquity, but of Italy and England and the Latin writers of modern Europe; he studied history, geography, logic, philosophy, and criticism; he was versed in theology and the Church fathers, in civil and church government, in the principles of religious and civil liberty. He knew music, mathematics, and astronomy. Like Virgil he was especially fond of Greek tragedy, and of the tragic dramatist Euripides. Like Virgil he consciously imitated the best that the sage poets had bequeathed

Storied of old in high immortal verse.

Only such a union of knowledge and art made the two epics possible. They are the supreme examples of the power of the poet to recreate, by a courageous imagination and an immense labor of learning, an age and a manner of life immeasurably remote, and to make that age poetically vital, attractive, and significant. Such poetic reconstruction is the one great accomplishment common to the two poets.

So striking a parallelism of artistic development and production, together with Milton's large indebtedness to Virgil, should lead us to expect a goodly number of direct references to the Latin poet, a worthy tribute of appreciation. What do we find?

Masson says that Milton's favorite poets among the Greeks were Homer and the Tragedians, especially Euripides, and among the Latins, Ovid and Virgil.[5] Between Ovid and young Milton there was, indeed, a genuine sympathy that found recognition in his well-known comment on the "smooth elegiac poets," in the Ovidian nature of his early Latin poetry, in his evident delight in classic myth, and in that whimsical desire expressed in *Elegia Prima* that Ovid had suffered an exile no more unpleasant than his own en-

[4] Cf. Sellar, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

[5] "Milton," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., XVI, 337.

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forced vacation from the University. He would have Ovid greater than Homer and Virgil! He would seem to find in Ovid a latent genius superior to the matured powers of the two great masters, and lacking only a congenial soil in which to fructify.[6] Yet within the narrow limits of his Latin verse there is a decrease in the influence and prestige of Ovid, with an accompanying increase in the Virgilian element.[7] *Mansus* and the *Epitaphium Damonis* not only contain many a line inwrought with Virgil's very words, but also show that Milton's love of mediaeval romance is now tempered by the national spirit of the Virgilian epic and its Italian imitations. He would achieve fame among his people by singing of the coming of Dardan Brutus, of his colony on the Albion shore, of British wars, of Arthur and his knights.[8] Furthermore, he actually deprecates his most Ovidian elegies in a postscript that imitates the epilogue at the end of Virgil's *Georgics*.[9] Even the manner of Milton's tribute to the "smooth elegiac poets" beloved in youth indicates a conscious change in taste.[10] Nor is it without significance that for the title-page of the first edition of his poems (1645) he selects a motto from Virgil's Seventh Eclogue,

> **Baccare frontem**
> **Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.**

He is no longer merely a writer of Ovidian or amatory elegies; he has become a modest companion of the great pastoral singers, deserving the fox-glove charm lest sinister flattery destroy the real poet he feels destined to become. A reader of his day would have recalled—and I am sure that Milton meant him to recall—all of Thyrsis' quatrain:

> **Pastores, hedera nascentem ornate poetam,**
> **Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro;**
> **Aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare**
> **frontem**
> **Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.**
> (*Ecl.*, VII, 25-28)

And the reader would have found that in the finest of the Latin

[6] *Eleg.*, I, 21-24.
[7] Cf. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
[8] Cf. *Mansus*, 78 ff. and *Epitaphium Damonis*, 162-178.
[9] The postscript follows *Elegia Septima;* cf. *Georg.*, IV, 559-566.
[10] "An Apology," *Prose Works*, III, 116-117 (Bohn ed.).

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poems appearing in the volume of 1645, the *Epitaphium Damonis*, Milton was singing his grief under the name of Thyrsis.

This is certain: in influence on the mature Milton, Virgil is first among the poets of ancient Rome. One indication of this supremacy is the abundance of Virgilian allusion and quotation in the *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio*, which quite outnumber the Ovidian, although the Ovidian more than equal those from all other Latin poets together.[11] Finally, the influence upon *Paradise Lost* is greater than that of any other pagan poet. Yet to say that Virgil was Milton's favorite Latin poet, even in his later life, is more than his direct references explicitly justify.

Now it is true that the mature Milton was little given to eulogy—his conversation among friends is said to have been "extreme pleasant . . . but satirical";[12] yet he did upon occasion speak with frankness and warmth. To Lord Henry de Bras he wrote on July 15, 1657:

> Of Sallust I will speak, as you desire, without any hesitation or reserve. I prefer him to any of the Latin historians; which was also the general opinion of the ancients. . . . I will add a remark of Sallust, and which was one of the excellencies he himself commends in Cato, that he should be able to say much in a few words; a perfection which I think no one can attain without the most discriminating judgment and a peculiar degree of moderation. There are many in whom you have not to regret either elegance of diction or copiousness of narrative, who have yet united copiousness with brevity. And among these Sallust is, in my opinion, the chief of the Latin writers.[13]

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[11]For the "Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio," see *Works*, ed. Mitford, London, 1851, vol. VII. I have made an index of the Virgilian phrases and passages quoted in Milton's prose works. It shows at least one instance in his "Familiar Letters" and one in the "Christian Doctrine," two instances in the "Second Defence," four in the "First Defence," thirty-one in the "Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio," one in the appended "Praxis Logicae Analytica ex Dounamo," and fifty-three in the "Accedence Commenced Grammar"— a total of at least ninety-five. In general, the quotations in the "Artis Logicae" are the most interesting, often being passages several lines long, given and sometimes analyzed as illustrations of a rhetorical or a logical method or principle. The longest and most elaborate of all such illustrations in his dissection of the portrayal of Rumor in *Aen.*, IV, 173-188 (see *Works*, VII, 97-98).

[12]Cf. John Aubrey, "Collections for the Life of Milton," in *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, p. xxxix.

[13] "Familiar Letters," *Prose Works*, III, 515.

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But his highest praise is for the Greeks. Note these lines to his father:

> Cum mihi Romuleae patuit facundia linguae,
> Et Latii veneres, et quae Jovis ora decebant
> Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis; [14]

and these two letters to Leonard Philaras, the Athenian:

> I have always been devotedly attached to the literature of Greece, and particularly to that of your Athens; and have never ceased to cherish the persuasion that that city would one day make me ample recompence for the warmth of my regard.[15]

> To the writings of those illustrious men which your city has produced, in the perusal of which I have been occupied from my youth, it is with pleasure I confess that I am indebted for all my proficiency in literature.[16]

Of these Athenians Plato receives the most enthusiastic tribute, "who for those his writings hath obtained the surname of divine."[16] Plato, with Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon, "the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages," taught "this our world better and exacter things than were yet known or used."[17] "Divine" are the volumes "of Plato and his equal Xenophon."[18]

We should not expect a tribute such as this to Virgil. The "matter" of Plato's works lifts them for Milton above the fable of any pagan narrative poet. Yet the "shady spaces of philosophy" were no more loved than the "laureate fraternity of poets." "True poets are the objects of my reverence and my love, and the constant sources of my delight."[19] Among these true poets must be reckoned

> Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,
> Whose poem Phoebus challenged for his own;

"Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragic poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write Tragedy"; Theocritus, the "Sicilian Muse"; and the

[14] *Ad Patrem*, 79-81.
[15] "Familiar Letters," *Prose Works*, III, 507 and 504.
[16] "An Apology," *Prose Works*, III, 107.
[17] *Ibid.*, III, 108-109.
[18] *Ibid.*, III, 119.
[19] "2 Defence," *Prose Works*, I, 241.

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honoured flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius.[20]

Although he has "swallowed the most copious drafts" of the literature of Greece and Rome, he "can yet sometimes retire with avidity and delight to feast on Dante, Petrarch, and many others" [21] of the Italians, notably "Ariosto equal in fame" to these other "famousest men for wit and learning that Italy . . . glories of," [22] and Tasso, "the illustrious poet," [23] whose epic shares with Homer's and Virgil's the honor of being a "diffuse model" of the type.[24] Two English poets are cited and quoted more often than any others of his countrymen: "our renowned Chaucer," [25] and "our admired," [26] "our sage and serious poet Spenser (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas)." [27] To these might be added the somewhat inadequate praise of Shakespeare as "Fancy's Child," and of his "native wood-notes," his "livelong monument," "easy numbers," and "unvalued book." [28]

In this garland the one real tribute to Virgil comes from the poetry. The prose is peculiarly silent—no outspoken estimate, virtually no specific criticism, no spontaneous praise of Virgil such as occasionally appears for others. To be sure, among the illustrations in the *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio* is an analysis of the passage that portrays Dido setting out for the hunt—with the comment,

[20] *P. R.*, IV, 259-260; Preface to *Samson Agonistes; Lycidas*, 133 and 85-86. Add his reference to "the wise poet Sophocles," and to Euripides, who shares with him the throne in dramatic works ("Church-Government," *Prose Works*, II, 474 and 479); and Satan's high praise in *Paradise Regained* (IV, 261-266) of "the lofty grave tragedians"—

In chorus or iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence.

[21] "Familiar Letters," "To Buonmattai, a Florentine," *Prose Works*, III, 497. Cf. also "An Apology," *Prose Works*, III, 117: ". . . and above them all [I] preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression."

[22] "Reformation," *Prose Works*, II, 383.

[23] "2 Defence," *Prose Works*, I, 256.

[24] "Church-Government," *Prose Works*, II, 478.

[25] "Reformation," *Prose Works*, II, 405.

[26] "Animadversions," *Prose Works*, III, 84.

[27] "Areopagitica," *Prose Works*, II, 68.

[28] *L'Allegro*, 133-134; *On Shakespeare*.

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Dido . . . magnifice . . . depingitur.[29] In the tractate *Of Education* only "the rural part of Virgil" is directly mentioned,[30] although the *Aeneid* must be one of the "heroic poems" (in company with Homer's epics and possibly those of the Italians, all unnamed) which are to provide part of the final humanistic training in his ideal academy.[31] In fact, Virgil usually appears in Milton's prose references as a writer of epic poetry, almost always coupled with Homer. In these passages no critical distinction between them is evident, no marked preference. They are simply the masters of the type. Thus we find in the defense of blank verse prefixed to *Paradise Lost:*

> The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin.

Again, here implicitly:

> As the epic poet, who adheres at all to the rules of that species of composition, does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular action of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Aeneas into Italy.[32]

And again:

> That epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model.[33]

A similar example is his illustration of synecdoche in his Latin treatise on Logic: *ut poeta pro Homero aut Virgilio, Philosophus pro Aristotele aut Platone et similia.*[34] Only twice do we meet

[29] *Works*, VII, 34-35. See *Aen.*, IV, 129-142.

[30] "Of Education," *Prose Works*, III, 471. Note his analysis of the *Georgics* to illustrate "method" ("Artis Logicae," *Works*, VII, 172): "Sic Virgilius, in *Georgicis*, distribuit propositam materiam in quatuor partes, ut antedictum est; primoque libro res communes persequitur, ut astrologiam, meteorologiam, deque segetibus et earum cultu disserit, quae pars operis prima erat; tumque transitio adhibetur initio secundi libri,

Hactenus arvorum cultus, etc.

Dein scribit generaliter de arboribus, tum specialiter de vitibus. Sic toto opere, generalissimum, primo; subalterna, medio; specialissima, extremo loco ponere studuit."

[31] "Of Education," *Prose Works*, III, 473.

[32] "2 Defence," *Prose Works*, I, 299.

[33] "Church-Government," *Prose Works*, II, 478.

[34] "Artis Logicae," *Works*, VII, 119.

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Virgil out of the company of his peers. To Alexander Gill, Milton writes:

> I received your letters and your poem, with which I was highly delighted, and in which I discover the majesty of a poet, and the style of Virgil.[35]

Possibly we may impute to Virgil the harmony and energy that Milton praises in Gill's poems,[36] but would that he had "discovered" the style of Virgil as he did that of Sallust! The other occurrence tells us nothing at all—he illustrates the ablative of agent after passive verbs by the sentence *Virgilius legitur a me.*[37]

Fewer, but more specific, are the allusions to Virgil, direct or implicit, in the poetry. Yet the same general comment holds. With Homer he appears in the youthful *Elegia Prima:*

> Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,
> Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.[38]

His first place among Latin poets is fully conceded, yet almost with regret. *Lycidas* contains a more genuine appreciation of Theocritus and Virgil as masters of the true pastoral strain:

> O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured
> flood,
> Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal
> reeds.

And surely Virgil is to be included among the "sage poets taught by the heavenly Muse."[39] Again, with Homer and Tasso he forms

[35] "Familiar Letters," *Prose Works*, III, 488.

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 489.

[37] "Accedence Commenced Grammar," *Prose Works*, V, 472.

[38] "Then he [Ovid] would have yielded not a whit even to Ionian Homer, nor would the first praise be thine, Virgil, for he would have vanquished thee." (*Eleg.*, I, 23-24; Moody's translation, revised by Rand.)

[39] Cf. *Comus*, 513-519:

> 'Tis not vain or fabulous,
> (Though so esteemed by shallow ignorance)
> What the sage poets, taught by th' heavenly
> Muse,
> Storied of old in high immortal verse
> Of dire Chimeras and enchanted isles,
> And rifted rocks whose entrance leads to Hell;
> For such there be, but unbelief is blind.

At the entrance of the Lower World Aeneas met among others monsters

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a triumvirate of the "great gods" above whom Salzilli in his conventionally extravagant encomium would put the young Milton. The young Milton recognizes the absurdity:

> Ades dum, et haec s'is verba pauca Salsillo
> Refer, Camoena nostra cui tantum est cordi,
> Quamque ille magnis praetulit immerito divis.[40]

But when, years later, he has brought the action of his own epic to its crisis, and is emboldened by his theme and his conviction of its truth, he does not fear to challenge comparison with the two greatest of these "great gods." His argument is

> Not less but more heroic than the wrath
> Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
> Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
> Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused;
> Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
> Perplexed the Greek and Cytherea's son:[41]

more heroic than wars, poetical dissections, games, emblazoned shields, and pompous feasts. This completes the direct references.[42]

Why should Milton's tribute to Virgil be thus relatively slight? Does he think that Virgil has been too highly praised, his genius overestimated? Is Milton a seventeenth-century Hellenist, attempting consciously or instinctively to raise the Greeks in popular esteem above the more artificial and imitative Romans? The evidence does not justify such a conclusion; recall his admiration for Ovid and Sallust and the Italians, and his obvious acceptance of Virgil as a peer of Theocritus and of Homer. Virgil's established

'the Chimera armed with flame' (*Aen.*, VI, 288); the entrance itself is thus described:

> Spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
> Scrupea.

Cf. also *Aen.*, VI, 240-241 and 262; *Georg.*, IV, 467-469. Homer's story (*Od.*, X, 509 ff.) does not provide such "rifted rocks."

[40] "Come, prithee, and bear these few words to Salsillo, who is so partial to my poetry that he puts me, all unworthy as I am, before the divine singers of old." (*Ad Salsillum Poetam Romanum*, 6-8.)

[41] *P. L.*, IX, 14-19.

[42] I have ignored the use of Virgil's name merely to introduce or identify a Virgilian quotation. Such citations occur most frequently in the *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio;* see foot-notes 11 and 30.

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place he does not question; he merely takes it for granted, and himself learns what he can from Virgil's poetic technique and noble humanism. Indeed, the comparative meagreness of his direct allusions to Virgil is simply one aspect of a fact pointed out by Dr. Ida Langdon, that "his scattered references to narrative poetry are fewer and less direct than his scattered references to the drama" —a difference that she suggests may be traced to the lack of a complete and generally recognized theory for the epic with which he could ally himself. Certainly, as she observes, "no one utterance of Milton on epic poetry is comparable in value to his remarks on tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes*."[43]

There remains one other consideration. Although Virgil and Milton are remarkably alike in their devotion to learning and to their ideals of conduct, government, and a religious observance of truth, although they are remarkably alike in their literary ambitions and interests, even in their aims and methods, yet in disposition and innate characteristics of thought and manner they have little kinship. Virgil is always simple, modest, rather uncertain of himself, with an instinctive gentleness and quiet melancholy that give pathos to his representation of human life. He cherishes the lowly and the unfortunate, and loves peace, especially the peace —won through an endless cycle of toil—of the contented farmer's home. It is not the magnificence, the luxury, the immense activity and movement of Rome that stir him to a religious devotion to her destiny, but the peace and order that Rome symbolizes as the capital of the Empire. He lives in the gray dawn of a new spiritual light. His poetry "is essentially the poetry of spiritual conflict, . . . of the stretching forth of hands in unrealized longing."[44] Milton is urbane, cultured in the grace and beauty of such forms of art as only the best of city homes can give, at ease in learned and polite circles in England and abroad. His is a complex personality. He cherishes the best in tradition, and is respectful of authority and reverent towards truth, but bold in setting his trenchant intellect against those who would restrict liberty of thought. He is controversial and individualistic, with the self-

[43] Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, New Haven, 1924, p. 124. See the entire chapter, "Milton and Epic Poetry."

[44] H. W. Garrod, "Vergil," in *English Literature and the Classics*, by G. S. Gordon and others, p. 156.

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confidence of the individualist devoted to a cause.[45] His idealism becomes the more austere with years. He is not concerned with the humble. There is development, but little uncertainty in his *prima philosophia.*

This difference in temperament may help to explain why his few direct references to Virgil are rather casual—when they are not wholly noncommittal or conventional. For Milton's real tribute, for a significant and full measure of the esteem in which he held the great Mantuan, we must turn to the internal evidence of Virgil's power over the maturing poet, to the "thoroughly Virgilian imagery of *Paradise Lost,*" [46] and to its free and highly poetic use of Virgilian epic structure and technique.

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[45] See Milton's own estimate of his nature, "An Apology," *Prose Works,* III, 118.

[46] Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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"WE BAND OF BROTHERS"

By Robert Boies Sharpe

Miss Albright's important addition to the rapidly growing body of comment[1] upon the pro-Essex spirit in Shakespeare's plays is to me especially interesting because of a remark which she makes upon the family interest to be found in the histories, by certain members of the Essex party: "Two Percies, a Blount, and three Vernons in the immediate circle of Essex and Southampton may have taken special enjoyment in doings of their ancestors in the Richard II and Henry IV and Henry V series of plays by Shakespeare."[2] My own study of the rivalry of the leading Elizabethan dramatic companies[3] has convinced me that this rivalry had strong elements of political partisanship, and that one of the distinctive traits of Shakespeare's use of the history play, as contrasted with its development by the playwrights who worked for Henslowe and the Admiral's men, was his consistent exploitation of this genealogical interest of his spirited cavalier audience in the martial and glorious doings of their ancestors. In a subsequent paper I plan to trace this rivalry in the writing and production of historical plays from *King John* through the Falstaff-Cobham incidents to its culmination in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. My present purpose is to show how Shakespeare's partisanship reveals itself in his account of the battle of Agincourt.

The poetry of martial glory has no words more stirring than those of the hero-king before Agincourt:[4]

> Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,
> That he which hath no stomach to this fight,
> Let him depart; his passport shall be made,
> And crowns for convoy put into his purse:
> We would not die in that man's company
> That fears his fellowship to die with us.

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[1] See Dixon Wecter's bibliographical note, "The Purpose of *Timon of Athens*." *PMLA.*, XLIII, 706, n. 23.

[2] "The Folio Version of Henry V," *PMLA.*, XLIII, 755.

[3] *The Real War of the Theaters: The Rivalry of the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men during the Last Decade of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, 1594-1603.* Yale Dissertation, 1928 (unpublished).

[4] *Henry V*, IV, iii, 34 ff.

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But I need not quote the whole of so familiar a passage. Of special significance are the lines

> **Then shall our names,**
> **Familiar in his mouth as household words,**
> **Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,**
> **Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,**
> **Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.**
> **This story shall the good man teach his son;**
> **And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,**
> **From this day to the ending of the world,**
> **But we in it shall be remembered:**
> **We few, we happy few, we band of brothers. . . .**

We feel that Shakespeare should have added to these promises of glory his own assurance of the happy fate of being immortalized in great verse. It was a splendid thing to be able to boast an ancestor who had fought at Agincourt, to hold a title which had been carried to victory on that field. But it was fortunate for not a few such descendants that Shakespeare's play was not the only authority upon the Agincourt honor roll. Of course the dramatist could not conveniently name all the men of note who were present; but I fear that a study of his selections and omissions will disclose a partisanship more creditable to Shakespeare's loyalty to his friends than to his disinterested patriotism. Such a study will involve comparing the lists of the heroes of Agincourt furnished by Holinshed, by the anonymous writer of *The Famous Victories of Henry V,* and by Shakespeare.

According to Holinshed's Chronicle, the Duke of York led the "vaward" or "vantgard," and was killed in the battle. With him were Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope. The division was composed of archers. The "middleward" was led by the King, with the Duke of Gloucester (wounded in the battle), the Earl Marshall, and the Earls of Oxford and Suffolk (killed). This division was made up of bill-men. Exeter had the "rereward," made up of both bill-men and archers.

> **Horsemen like wings went on every side of the battle.**

Clarence also is mentioned, and the signal to the archers was given by Sir Thomas Erpingham. Two more of the English dead are recorded by name, Sir Richard Kikelie and Davie Gamme, Esquire.

The anonymous chronicle play, *The Famous Victories of Henry V,* was entered upon the *Stationers' Register* in 1594; and the

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earliest known quarto, 1598, assigns its ownership to the Queen's men, who had not been competitors for favor on the London stage since the disastrous plague of 1594. But meanwhile a lost play of *Henry V* was listed as new by Henslowe on November 28, 1595, and performed by the Admiral's men thirteen times to July 20, 1596—a play which must have covered somewhat the same ground as *The Famous Victories* and may well, I believe, have consisted largely of a mere revision of it with partisan modifications in favor of the Cecil-Howard faction; and Shakespeare brought out some time about 1596-1597 the two parts of *Henry IV*, making clear use of materials from the anonymous chronicle play. Such direct rivalry in the use of the same subjects and even sources is almost unheard-of in the Elizabethan drama,[5] and leads me to suspect in this case that the ownership of *The Famous Victories* was actually in dispute among the Queen's, the Admiral's, and the Chamberlain's men; at least Shakespeare's fellows evidently thought they had as much right to the play as the Queen's men, and as much right to the subject as the Admiral's. It would indeed be strange if in the confusion of reorganizing the old companies into new ones in 1594 the ownership of none of the old play manuscripts had fallen into question between the new companies. In fact, we know that Greene was accused of selling his *Orlando* to two companies (the Queen's and the Admiral's); this may have been a slander to cover some chicanery by Henslowe or Alleyn. Another puzzling point about *The Famous Victories* as we have the play is its political bias (I shall point it out presently), which in the Agincourt portion appears to be pro-Cecil; thus the version published in 1598 may really be, in part at least, the revision of *The Famous Victories* which had been played by the Admiral's men as their *Henry V*.

The author of *The Famous Victories* omits Beaumont, Fanhope, the Earl Marshall, Suffolk, Exeter, Erpingham, Kikelie, and Gamme. He places Oxford in charge of the archers. He adds Derby, Kent, Bedford, Nottingham, Huntingdon, and Northumberland. The connections of the last three names with the Admiral's men and their politics hint that they were added by that company somewhere in the mysterious course of their use of the old play of

[5] The next ownership dispute of which we know came at the end of the reign, in the quarrel between the King's men and the boys over *Jeronimo* and *The Malcontent*.

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the Queen's men, and support the theory that the relationship between that play and the Admiral's lost *Henry V* was rather close.

Shakespeare's *Henry V* omits Beaumont, Willoughbie, Fanhope, the Earl Marshall, Oxford, Clarence; reinstates Suffolk, Exeter, Erpingham, Ketley, and Davy Gam; and of the additions made by *The Famous Victories,* omits Derby, Kent, Nottingham, Huntingdon, and Northumberland, retaining only Bedford; on its own account it adds Salisbury, Westmoreland, Warwick, and Talbot.

Let us first try to see what point there was in Shakespeare's omissions.

I find no special significance in his following the older play in omitting Beaumont[6] and Fanhope.[7] But his patron and friend the Earl of Southampton heartily disliked Ambrose Willoughby,[8] who in January, 1598, had interpreted his duties as an esquire of the body to include the keeping of Southampton quiet at the Queen's bed-time. In the ensuing scuffle he pulled the Earl's hair, and he was subsequently thanked by the Queen for his zeal. This incident has been thought to prove that Willoughby was the original of Malvolio. It is said also that there was trouble between the two men over Southampton's relations with Elizabeth Vernon, whom he married in that same year to save her name and that of his heir.

It is rather strange that both plays should omit the Earl Marshall, for Essex had probably not yet been given that honorary post when *The Famous Victories* was printed; and Shakespeare might have been expected to reinstate the Marshall for the same reason that a rival company would leave him out. Perhaps Shakespeare felt that Essex was sufficiently complimented by his addition of the Earl of Warwick to honor the Dudleys, and by his reinstatement of Exeter. The man meant by the latter, Sir Thomas Beau-

[6] Perhaps to avoid confusion. A Beaumont is named among the earls slain on the French side. John Beaumont, grandfather of the dramatist, Master of the Rolls, had been removed from the bench in 1552 for scandalous abuses of his position which included forgery. The family may have been thought unworthy of Agincourt honors. (I am indebted to the *D. N. B.* for much of my biographical information.)

[7] Fanhope is named by Drayton in his famous song of the battle, probably largely for the sake of the rhyme.

[8] He should not be confused with Essex's friend Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby. Shakespeare was, of course, closer personally to Southampton than to Essex.

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fort, the King's uncle, was really Earl of Dorset at the time of the battle, and did not become Duke of Exeter until the following year. His sister Joan married Lord Ferrers, an ancestor of Essex. Another possible compliment lies in the anagram SX (Essex)= X S (Excester, the old form of Exeter)—a far-fetched identification which would have been agreeable to the Elizabethan taste. Essex signs himself "S. X." in an imploring letter to the Queen, September 6, 1600.[9]

The omission of the Earl of Oxford, especially honored in *The Famous Victories,* seems a very pointed one indeed; but I do not feel sure of its significance. He was not prominent in politics. His first wife was a daughter of Lord Burleigh, but he had married a second time about 1591. His patronage of a company of players which may have caused the other companies more trouble than we can now trace; his play-writing, which may have been satirical; his poems; his Italianate fopperies; his violent temper; the ill-feeling between his family and their relatives the Berties;[10] his dishonourable conduct in his quarrel with Sidney, avoiding a duel but trying to have his adversary murdered; his holding the hereditary dignity of Lord Great Chamberlain of England (not to be confused with the practical, appointive post of Lord *High* Chamberlain, held by Shakespeare's lord); his patronage of Munday—all these are possible reasons for the malice which here denies to his earldom the glory of Agincourt.

Shakespeare's omission of Clarence is probably not significant except as an illustration of his general policy of economy in characters who had no contemporary geneaological significance; the last of the title had died in 1421.

[9] L. H. Cadwallader, *The Career of the Earl of Essex, 1597-1601,* p. 71.

[10] This Edward deVere, 17th earl, ruined his inheritance; and with his son Henry (by his second wife) the direct male line came to an end in 1625. The succession was contested by Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby, whose mother, wife of Peregrine Bertie, was an aunt of the 18th earl, on the ground that the latter's three half sisters (their mother was Anne Cecil) were only "of the half blood"—a charge on which light is thrown by a bit of scandal in Francis Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs* (I, 226), referring to Susan, wife of the Earl of Pembroke, as "that daughter of the last great Earl of Oxford whose lady was brought to his bed under the notion of his mistris, and from such a virtuous deceit she is said to proceed." (The parallel to the plots of *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* is very interesting.) Susan's sister married the Earl of Derby.

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We have seen that Shakespeare omitted five out of the six names added by the author of *The Famous Victories*. This might be explained as reliance upon Holinshed if he had not selected one of them for retention and added several of his own. As it is, partisanship seems to be the explanation. Even so, the leaving out of the Earl of Derby may seem rather mysterious, considering the association of Shakespeare's company with Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the father of the present earl. Essex may have felt irritation over the fact that Lord Strange had been given the title of Lord Steward on the death of his stepfather, the Earl of Leicester, a title which had been recently conferred upon his hated rival, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral. In January, 1596, Essex wrote Derby a spirited letter [11] replying to a complaint that he was entertaining fugitives from Derby's service. The quarrel appears to have been a sharp one, and Essex insinuates clearly that Derby was jealous of him and bitter against his friends and servants.

Another fact about the Stanleys which may have rankled in the breast of one of Shakespeare's friends was that this present Earl of Derby, William Stanley, had married Lady Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford (on January 26, 1595). The prosperity of this wedded couple Southampton could hardly contemplate with pleasure, if we may judge from a letter written by the priest Henry Garnet in 1594, saying, "The young Earl of Southampton, refusing the Lady Vere, payeth 5000 pounds of present payment." As Mrs. Stopes points out, this was a case of damages paid for breach of promise. On June 30, 1599, when Derby was suspected of being in some Catholic mischief, he was reported as "busyed only in penning comedies for the common players." Thus Essex's complaint to the Queen in 1600, "shortly they will play me on the stage," may refer to his mischievous activities. It is unfortunate that the dramatic works of both Derby and his father-in-law have disappeared. If they were anti-Essex, they may have been destroyed for prudential reasons on the accession of King James.

As for the Earl of Kent, it is not at all clear why *The Famous Victories* added him or why Shakespeare omitted him. The contemporary Earl was Henry Grey, who had been page to the Earl of Bedford, had been a member of Gray's Inn, and had married the Dowager Duchess of Derby. His brother Reginald married

[11] Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, II, 450.

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Lord Willoughby's sister. Of course if the family name *Grey* was the significant point, the serious enmity between Essex and Southampton and Thomas Grey, an adherent of Cecil, was ample reason why honor should be given by the Admiral's men and denied by the Chamberlain's. Like his father, Spenser's "Sir Artegall," Grey seems to have been prominent among the Puritans. Essex begged him in 1598 to break with Sir Robert Cecil and be "his friend only."[12] Grey declined on account of deep indebtedness to Cecil. "Henceforth Essex and Essex's friend Southampton treated Grey as an avowed enemy." He was with Essex in Ireland as a colonel of horse, was disciplined by Southampton, and left Ireland in 1600 to make more trouble at home. Of course Shakespeare had already cast plentiful obloquy upon the name of Thomas Grey in Act II and its Chorus.

Shakespeare's reason for leaving out Nottingham lies obviously in the well-known feud between Essex and the Lord Admiral, created Earl of Nottingham in October, 1596. This quarrel grew out of the distribution of spoil and honors after the Cadiz expedition, and was perhaps most violent in 1597-98; but it remained bitter, and did not even die with Essex. It will be noticed that the date of Howard's becoming Nottingham is subsequent to the last recorded performance of *Henry V* by the Admiral's men; in the summer of 1597, however, Henslowe ceased recording performances, so that the insertion of the name at a revival is possible.

The objection to honoring Huntingdon (in spite of the fact that an Earl of Huntingdon was Essex's great-grandfather) may lie merely in the recent Robin Hood plays of the Admiral's men. (This disinclination to advertise the rival company's hero would not apply, of course, to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, for he was in no less than three of Shakespeare's plays.) A religious reason for one company's fondness for Huntingdon and the other's dislike of him may be found in the Protestant activities of Sir Francis Hastings, fifth son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon. (His daughter married the Earl of Worcester and was mother of the brides in Spenser's "Prothalamion.") Sir Francis was a distinguished champion of the Puritan party. He was prominent in the parliament of 1597, and published in 1598 *A Watch-word to all Religious and True-hearted Englishmen.* "Nicholas Dole-

[12] *D. N. B.*, "Sir Thomas Grey."

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man"[13] (the Jesuit Robert Parsons) replied in *A Temperate Watch-word* the next year, calling Hastings "the meanest beagle of the house of Huntingdon."

The Earl of Northumberland, although the family was closely associated with Essex, was probably left out for good reason. Miss Albright[14] has pointed out the treacherous nature of the contemporary Earl, his association with Essex's enemies Cobham and Raleigh in the "Triplicity of Hell," and his mistreatment of his wife, Essex's sister. Moreover, a couple of years before this time he had quarreled with Southampton. A challenge ensued but came to nothing, the matter being settled by punctilious evasion, perhaps of somewhat the type described by Touchstone. The difference in Shakespeare's feeling toward the elder and the younger Percy of *I Henry IV* is illuminated by the facts about the family in Elizabeth's last decade, for the Earl's younger brothers, Sir Charles and Sir Joscelyn, were among the Essex adherents imprisoned in February, 1601. Another interesting point is that the title of *Duke* of Northumberland was claimed by Robert Dudley,[15] son of Essex's stepfather Leicester by a sister of the Lord Admiral in an alleged secret marriage. Dudley carried on a long suit to establish his legitimacy, in which he was quite naturally opposed by the legal heirs.

As for the names retained, reinstated, or added by Shakespeare, those of the Duke of York and the King need no comment. Gloucester has been spoken of in connection with the Earl of Huntingdon. Suffolk was probably reinstated for the sake of Exeter's affecting description of the grief of York at his death. But why did *The Famous Victories* omit him? The representative of the "Suffolk Claim" to the succession was Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, who in 1596 (about the time when the Admiral's men were playing their *Henry V*) was implicated with his brother Thomas and Sir John Smith in some treasonable proceedings in Essex. That no severe action was taken was said to be because a strong party favored his claims, a party including Cecil, Raleigh,

[13] Some of "Doleman's" work was dedicated to Essex. Cf. C. C. Stopes, *The Third Earl of Southampton*, p. 211.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 741.

[15] W. B. Devereaux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereaux*, p. 158.

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and the Lord Admiral.[16] It may be surmised, then, that the Admiral's partisans did not dare show special honor to the title of Suffolk, and even that Shakespeare may have indulged some slight malice in so elaborate a reinstatement.

I have offered my guess at the reasons for restoring the name of Exeter. For the reappearance of Erpingham and Ketley I find no political motive. In reading the play one is struck by the mention of "Davy Gam, esquire" as a quaintly minute following of Holinshed; but he was an interesting figure himself and perhaps important enough genealogically to give Shakespeare's reinstatement of him an ulterior motive, although I do not assert that there was malice in his omission from the earlier play. David ap Llewelyn, nicknamed "Gam" because he squinted, was faithful to Henry IV even through the revolt of Glendower. On the eve of Agincourt, being questioned by the King as to the number of the enemy, he is said to have replied, "Enow to be slain, enow to be ta'en, and enow to be chivvied awa'." He may be the original of Fluellen. He was an ancestor of the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke; thus the mention of Gam was a compliment to the young William Herbert, who was now at court.

Bedford, honored in both plays, appears to have had friends in both camps. Edward Russell, the third Earl, married in 1594 Lucy, daughter of John Harrington, patroness of poets among whom were Drayton, Jonson, and Chapman, dramatists for Henslowe. But Bedford himself seems to have been a supporter of Essex, albeit a faint-hearted one, for he failed to come to the rendezvous for the rising, and Essex's sister Penelope went for him in her coach; later in the day he deserted.

We now come to the four names added by Shakespeare. Two of these nobles, Salisbury and Talbot, were actually present at Agincourt.[17] Westmoreland had been left at home to defend the marches of Scotland, and Warwick had returned to England ill before the King left Harfleur.[18]

The name of Salisbury may have been added in honor of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, one of the most renowned of Essex's

[16] *D. N. B.*, "Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp."
[17] Sir Harris Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, p. 127.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 242, n. a.

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ancestors. It would also be complimentary to John Salisbury, esquire, of Denbigh, a shire in which the name was very prominent. Captains Owen and John Salisbury were adherents of Sir Gelly Meyrick, a prominent figure in the Essex rebellion. But the John Salisbury of whom we are speaking was patron of Robert Chester, for whose *Love's Martyr* in his patron's honor Shakespeare a year or two later wrote *The Phoenix and the Turtle.* Salisbury was in the Inner Temple in 1595 and spent most of the next ten years in London, frequenting the theaters and the court. He was a friend of Pembroke and Cecil and Esquire of the Queen, who knighted him in 1601.

The Earl of Westmoreland was an ancestor of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, a highly important figure in Essex's calculations at and soon after his return from Ireland. The contemporary Earl, Charles Neville, was grandson of the first Earl of Rutland, and thus related to a family which was very friendly to both Essex and Southampton. He had been forced to flee the country by the failure of the Catholic uprising of 1569; there was hope for such exiles in the Essex policy of toleration. A relative, Edmund Neville, confined in the Tower as a result of the same uprising, was liberated soon after 1595. A Sir Henry Neville, who was just Shakespeare's age, was ambassador to France and was knighted in 1599. He was in the confidence of Southampton and took some part in the Essex plot; he was imprisoned for a while, then released with a fine. His danger is alluded to in one of Jonson's epigrams. Honor may have been reflected from the title of Westmoreland to the family name of Neville in this case at least as easily as dishonor in the case of the Greys and the Earl of Kent.

Of the two remaining names added by Shakespeare, that of Warwick reflected glory upon Ambrose Dudley and thus indirectly upon the Earl of Essex, stepson and would-be political heir of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. That of Talbot advertised the popular hero of *I Henry VI,* the play which immediately followed *Henry V* in the great historical series now completed for the repertory of the Chamberlain's men. Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was on very friendly terms with both Essex and Southampton; Essex calls himself his "cousin and true friend" in a warm letter of 1594; and in 1596 Shrewsbury was writing to

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Cecil from Rouen in behalf of the Davers brothers, fugitives, who had escaped from England with Southampton's connivance.[19]

If under the foregoing analysis Shakespeare's handling of the Battle of Agincourt shows partisanship, as I believe it does, it should be remembered in his favor that in his own eyes he was on the side of true patriotism with the party that aimed at enlightenment and domestic peace through toleration, at ridding the Queen of evil and treacherous councillors, and at active glorious war against England's still-dreaded enemy, Spain.

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[19] Lodge's "Illustrations," *op. cit.*, II, 463 ff. and 496.

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THE WANTON WIFE OF BATH AND QUEEN ELIZABETH

By Ernest Kuhl

On June 25, 1600, three men were heavily fined for printing and selling a "disorderly" ballad. The entry in the *Stationers' Register*[1] is as follows:

> Yt is ordered touchinge a Disorderly ballad of *the wife of Bathe.* printed by Edward aldee and william white and sold by Edward white: That all the same ballates shalbe brought in and burnt / And that either of the printers for theire Disorders in printinge yt shall pay vs A pece for a fine. And that master white for his offence and Disorder in sellinge it shall pay xs for a fine. xxs
>
> And ther Imprisonment is respited till another tyme /

It is difficult to see why this piece, admired by generations of men including Addison, should have had so inauspicious a beginning. The objection, it is clear, was not to any irregularity in printing, as seen in the significant word "disorderly." Nor could Chaucer himself, since the connection with him is all but nil, have roused suspicion. What then was the source of the irritation, unusual in the *Stationers' Register* during those years,[2] that brought forth the severe penalty and threat of imprisonment?[3]

The ballad,[4] we recall, opens with the death of the Wife of Bath:

> And then her soul at Heaven's gate
> Did knock most mightily.

Imperiously she demands admittance of Adam. To his "Thou art a sinner," she replies: "And so art thou. . . . And eke a doting

[1] II, 831.

[2] Though arrests were many between 1595 and 1603, I find no entry parallel to this one. On "disorderly" cf. *S. R.*, II, 829.

[3] For the later history of the ballad see Spurgeon, *Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, 1925, III, 54. In 1632 the printer of the piece was summoned before the Court of High Commissioner for printing a work "wherein the histories of the Bible are scurrilously abused." Cf. Spurgeon, *op. cit.* It is unlikely that the sturdy Elizabethan, accustomed to scriptural parallels in all forms of writing, took offense at this scurrility. For further discussion see *infra.*

[4] Found in Percy's *Reliques*, II (Bk. VIII), 1893, 204. It has been often reprinted. For other references see Spurgeon, *op. cit.*; Rollins, "An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries," *Studies in Philology*, XXI, No. 2962.

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knave. I will come in in spight . . . Of all such churls as thee . . . Thou . . . first broke God's commandiments, In pleasure of thy wife."

Who calleth there, quoth Judith then,
With such shrill sounding notes?
This fine minkes surely came not here,
Quoth she, for cutting throats.

David she accuses of being "more kind . . . Unto Uriah's wife."

And when thy servant thou didst cause
In battle to be slaine,
Thou causedst far more strife than I,
Who would come here so faine.

Solomon says she is mad because she "doth taunt a king," and Thomas is called an "unbelieving wretch." Jonah, Mary Magdalen, and Paul are rebuked in like fashion. To Peter's "Thou weariest Christ with cries," she says:

. . . content thyself,
For mercy may be won.

Upon hearing her, "our Saviour Christ . . . comes unto this sinful soul:"

Of him for mercye she did crave;
Quoth he, Thou hast refus'd
My proffered grace and mercy both,
And much my name abus'd.

Sore have I sinned, Lord, she sayd,
And spent my time in vaine;
But bring me, like a wandering sheepe,
Into thy flocke againe.

O Lord my God, I will amend
My former wicked vice;
The thief for one poor silly word,
Past into Paradise.

Christ tells her she knew "My lawes and my commandiments," but they were ignored.

I grant the same, O Lord, quoth she;
Most lewdly did I live;
But yet the loving father did
His prodigal son forgive.

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So I forgive thy soul, he said,
Through thy repenting cry;
Come enter then into my joy,
I will not thee deny.

It is obvious that Chaucer did not rouse those in authority. The Wife's arrogant reprimands, her undignified language, her unusual charges—for example against Adam, Judith, and David—and the moving plea (granted by Christ) for mercy, pardon, and forgiveness—in short the whole ballad is original. In view of Queen Elizabeth's high-handed ways (and jealousy where women were concerned), was this merely a harmless literary exercise? If so, why the heavy penalty? And why "disorderly?"

The clue is probably to be found in the political situation at that particular time. The entry in the *Stationers' Register* is dated June 25, twenty days after the Earl of Essex was brought before the judges to answer certain charges against his conduct in Ireland. The fallen nobleman, we recall, had returned September 28, after his failure to defeat the Irish. Since court enemies had been busy in his absence, the result was immediate condemnation and imprisonment. He was also refused sight of friends, even of his wife and new-born babe. At once he became seriously ill (the prison air, his jailer wrote, was "noisome"), and lingered at the point of death. Meantime, as the months wore slowly on, he and his friends made every effort to obtain the Queen's mercy and pardon.

The Earl writes, for example, on February 11, 1600:

> Be pleased to remember how humbly and unfeignedly I have acknowledged mine offence; how patiently I have undergone your indignation, and how much more it will agree with your princely and angelic nature to have your mercy blazed by the tongue of your once happy, but now most sorrowful orator. . . . I again acknowledge mine offence, and beg that this cup may pass from me.[5]

Mercy, he wrote Her Majesty on May 12, was bestowed on all but him, and in the "eighth month of my close imprisonment [you have] rejected my letters, and refused to hear of me, which to traitors you never did."[6] But the hard heart of her who sat on the throne remained cold.

[5] *Cal. State Papers. Domestic.* 1598-1601, 393. Whyte's letters (*Sidney Papers*) indicate how much the Earl's friends were working for him at Court.

[6] *Cal. State Papers,* 435.

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Finally, on the day he was brought before the judges (June 5), he again implored the Queen for mercy. "The poore Earle," Whyte wrote two days later, "then besought there Honors, to be a meane unto her Majestie for Grace and Mercy; seing there appeared in his Offences no Disloyalty towards her Highness, but Ignorance and Indiscretion in hymself."[7]

Furthermore, the nervousness of the authorities increased perceptibly.[8] Their state of mind, especially their fear of libellers, is seen in what happened a week later—on the 12th. Chamberlain writes of the matter the next day as follows:

> . . . the Lord Keper made a very grave speach in nature of a charge to the Judges, to looke to the overgrowinge idle multitude of justices of peace, . . . to . . . disorderly persons, to masterles men . . . that . . . live by theire sword and by theire wit, to discoursers and medlers in princes matters, and *lastly* [italics mine] to libellers.

The Lord Keeper, Chamberlain adds, then "fell to a digression how mercifully her Majestie had dealt with the Earle of Essex."[9]

Added details are found in the *Salisbury Manuscripts* (X, 183 f.). The Lord Keeper said:

> there were a company that lived in London, gentlemen, nay, they were not gentlemen, men of living, they had no living, but they went brave, and lived . . . by their wits (as they said): those were discoursers of states and princes, and such were they that were movers of sedition . . .: and were not worthy to live; and inveighed against those much. And then said that their *malice of late did more appear* [italics mine]. And prayed their Lordships to give him leave to digress, and then began to this effect.

Here mention is made of sending an army to "reclaim and reduce the torn realm of Ireland" the year before:

> and to lead this army she made choice of a person such as none the like of him for that purpose was to be found in her kingdom, and extolled his virtues and his worthiness greatly. . . . But her Majesty, finding the directions contemned and neglected, restrained him of his liberty. These gallants libelled against these proceedings. Whereupon it was thought good narratively to declare and show some errors and contempts in Michaelmas term last, which was meant and done accordingly; but what

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[7] *Sidney Papers*, ed. Collins, 1746, II, 200. Cf. Whyte on June 11 (p. 200).

[8] The Events of June will be discussed more fully at another time.

[9] Letters, *Camden Society*, 1861, 77 f. Cf. *Cal. State Papers*, 441.

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followed? New libels were thrown forth, of strange proceedings, a nobleman committed and no cause, and condemned and not heard; and there inveighed against those libellers sharply. And then shewed that her Majesty, understanding hereof, notwithstanding ran a mild and sweet course of mercy and clemency.

The final judgment against Essex was:

Not as this court do use to judge, but applying only to her Majesty's mercy. Then the Lord Keeper touched withall that his Lordship's carriage was so humble and submissive to her Majesty, that it was a great satisfaction to them all. And shewed that he had digressed which the libellers did bring him unto, and with a sharp invective exhortory [*sic*] to see them punished, he concluded.

Significant in this connection is Whyte's account of the fourteenth. Though Essex had acknowledged his errors, and was sorry,

yet some wicked Persons intermedled by libelling, to find Fault with the Doings of her Majestie: Therefore a Proclamation is published against such seditious Persons, to be severely punished, according to the Lawes of the Realme.[10]

Moreover, this uneasiness grew noticeably after the middle of the month. Southampton, now in Ireland, was sent a letter by his friend Da[n]vers, written on the twenty-ninth, relating in detail the happenings of the last half of June. First

Essex's delivery . . . hath been ever since expected, but deferred from day to day upon some occasion or other. First, it was thought fit that it should be delivered in the Star Chamber by my Lord Keeper unto the gentlemen of the Country before their going down, how far her Majesty at the hearing at York House had been justified and my Lord proved faulty; then, the judges should have in charge to relate as much in the country in their circuits; and all this was thought necessary to be done before any liberty should be granted, last the world should think *mercy to be shewed too much without discretion* [italics mine].[11]

The next Sunday, the fifteenth, was then "appointed [wrote Da[n]vers] for the day whereon order should be taken to give him the liberty of his house." Meantime an unfortunate circumstance occurred. The Queen

was somewhat moved, for that by search of her letters in one of her caskets she had found herself to have been wrongfully charged by my Lord

[10] *Sidney Papers*, II, 202. See reference to libels in earlier part of letter; also cf. 200.

[11] *Salisbury MSS.*, X, 208.

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of Essex to have pardoned my Lord of Leicester's coming over after he had received a strait prohibition under her hand, whereas by this letter found out it appeared he had her leave to come over.

Again, the next Sunday (the twenty-second)

the world was entertained with the like expectation, but nothing was effected, for her Majesty would hear of [no] motion about that matter till some order were taken about the degrading of all the knights made since August last.

This

was thought fit should be done by proclamation, which was drawn and signed four days since (*viz.*, the twenty-fifth), but retained from publishing till the Council's coming to the Court this day.

In other words, this proclamation, the result of a flaring up of long smouldering fires, was made on the day the Stationers took action on the *Wife of Bath.*

How tense the atmosphere was in London at this time may be gleaned from a letter of Sir John Harington. This gentleman of the court wrote Cecil urging him to use his influence against reducing the knights of the previous August. Though he had objected strenously to such a procedure the preceding November, it would now, he thinks, be even "*more dangerous.*"[12] This letter also was written on the very day (*viz.*, the twenty-fifth) that action was taken on the *Wife of Bath.*

Now ballads, of course, were an excellent index of daily happenings. They were the newspapers, often the pulpit, of the time. Selden has put the matter well:

Tho' some make slight of *Libels*, yet you may see by them how the Wind sits: as take a Straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a Stone. More solid Things do not show the Complexion of the times so well as Ballads and Libels.[13]

And Falstaff's threat to his comates that he would have "ballads made . . . and sung to filthy tunes" shows how the popular songs were looked upon by Elizabethans (and Shakespeare).

Inasmuch as ballads reflect the mood of the hour, and since the decree touching the *Wife of Bath* suggests that those in power

[12] *Salisbury MSS.*, X, 199. Italics mine.
[13] *Table-Talk*, LXXXI.

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were offended, we conclude that these verses, with their emphasis on mercy and forgiveness, were intended to refer to some contemporary event. Now Sir John Harington (among others) has shown what was uppermost in the minds of the rulers—specially the Queen—in that hectic month of June, *viz.*, the trial of The Earl of Essex. And since worried authorities for months had been on the hunt for libels pertaining to this nobleman, the *Wife of Bath*, we infer, is another example of libellous verse.[14]

The University of Iowa.

[14] One finds repeated references to the mercy shown Essex by the Queen (cf., e. g., *Cal. State Papers. Carew.* 1589-1600, 344). Naturally the Scriptural background offered no barrier to the balladist's satirical intent. For the social and political purpose in such pieces see *Gehazi* (*Shakespeare's England*, II, 525; cf. 518. Cf. Stopes, *Southampton*, 235 ff).

Was the lost *Wanton Wife of Westminster* (licensed July 3, 1597), a satire on the Queen? This was the month that the *Isle of Dogs* created a stir.

One should like to know who the versatile author of the *Wife of Bath* was. In view of Nash's well-known enthusiasm for Chaucer's character by that name, he may have written the piece (cf. however Spurgeon, *op. cit.*). That Addison and others should have enjoyed the ballad speaks well for its literary merit.

For a discussion of the efficient throttling of the press at this time see my study (in *The Library* for March, 1929) on *Stationers and Censorship, 1599-1601.*"

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CORRECTIONS OF THE TEXT OF PARTS I AND II OF THE *PARNASSUS* TRILOGY

By Samuel A. Tannenbaum

Enthusiasts have not hesitated to speak of the anonymous *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and the *Return from Parnassus* as among the most singular and interesting compositions in our language. To the Shakespearian scholar they are of the greatest interest, not because of their humor or because of the picture they give of the academic life of the period, but because of their repeated references to William Shakespeare and the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries. Elizabethan plays possessing such an unique interest would, it seems, have been reprinted with the utmost care and faithfulness. But, as a matter of fact, this has not been done.

Mr. Macray, the only editor of the complete Trilogy, has given us the only transcription of the manuscripts of *The Pilgrimage* and of the first part of *The Return*. The third part of the Trilogy, *The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Simony*, published in 1606, has been several times reprinted. The manuscripts of the first and second parts (B. M., Rawlinson D 398) have been issued in facsimile (in 1912) by John S. Farmer.

These manuscripts are written in a small, fairly neat, somewhat cramped, almost wholly unflourished, modern Italian hand with a very small admixture (probably less than five per cent.) of old English letters. The plays are readable without any considerable difficulty. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Macray's text contains so many errors, leaving out of consideration his hundreds of inexcusable alterations of the orthography of the original, that I thought it worth while to compile a list of these for the benefit of scholars.[1]

Page 1, line 9.—advise youre younge untutord ***thoughte***
aduise youre younge vntutord ***thoughts***
" *1,* " *12.*—Who manie *years* have schooled how to live:
who manie *yeare* haue schooled how to liue

Page 1, ll. 7-10.—In the manuscript these verses are divided as follows:

[1] In what follows, the references are to Macray's edition, the erroneous readings being given first.

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> Now Philomusus, doe youre beardless years, youre faire yonge springe time, and youre budded, youth vrge mee to aduise youre younge vntutord thoughts, and giue gray bearded counsell to youre age,

It would be interesting to know why the scribe, who was probably a professional copyist, not a very competent or intelligent one, departed from his original in this regard. It is the occurrence of such freaks in Elizabethan manuscripts which justify editors in the re-lining of Shakespeare's text where the Quarto or Folio versions do not conform to his normal verse.

Page 2, l. 16.—Shall never more borrowe youre lisninge eare;
shall never more borowe youre lisninge *ears*
" *26.*—Take good advise from him *who* lovs youe well;
Take good aduise from him *that* lous youe well
" *43.*—And teache them warble out some sweet *sonnete*
and teache them warble out some sweet *sonnets*
" *44.*—To ravishe all the *filde*
to ravishe all the *filds*
" *4,*" *91.*—But let not theire *entisemente* cause youre falls
but let not theire *entisements* cause youre falls
"*103.*—But *what*? doe I prolong my *studious* speache,
But *what* doe I prolonge my *tedious* speache

"What" in this passage means "why" and should not be followed by the interrogation point. "Studious" for "tedious" is an inexcusable error.

Page 5, l. 129.—Saye, *whate* the firste ile wee muste travell in?
saye *whats* the firste Ile wee muste travell in?

The comma after "say" is unnecessary.

Page 7, l. 187.—to reede dull *lives*, fustie philosophers,
to reede dull *lines*, fustie Philosophers,
l. 206.—the drawer will bid youe *to* goe
the drawer will bid youe goe
Page 8, l. 216.—*while* an ould drousie Academicke
whils an ould drousie Academicke

Page 8, ll. 228-29.—In the manuscript these lines are divided thus:

> yet to Parnassus Ile hould on[e] my pace. but tell mee Madido
> how camest thou to this ile.

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Macray properly shifts the words "but tell me Madido" to the second of these lines—where they should be in a modernized text.

Page 8, l. 237.—put . . . three hundred *rodes* upon my backe.
put . . . three hundred *rods* vpon my backe,
" *9, l. 270.*—To cleave unto *yonder* wett phantasticke crewe!
to cleaue vnto *yonde* wett phantasticke crewe

"Yonder" spoils the verse and is not what the scribe wrote.

Page 10, l. 281.—And make them seem leane *shadowles pale* ghostes.
and make them seeme leane *shadowes, and pale* ghostes

But for the existence of the manuscript, it would be almost impossible to believe that a scholarly transcriber could have been guilty of such an absurd misreading.

Page 11, l. 333.—whiles they play the *reprobate* at home,
whiles they play the *reprobats* at home,
" *12, l. 344.*—my uncle . . . sent mee . . . this *mandition*,
my vncle . . . sent mee . . . this *mandilion*,

I wonder what Mr. Macray thought a "mandition" was; he had evidently never heard of a "mandilion" (a kind of loose cloak or cassock) and did not know how to distinguish the scribe's *t*'s from his *l*'s.

Page 12, l. 353.—sell all these books, and *by* a good Martin,
sell all these books, and *buye* a good Martin,

Stupido is advising Studioso and Philomusus to purchase the Martin Marprelate tracts. Mr. Macray did not understand this.

Page 16, l. 482.—they . . . shall . . . all *maner object* scorne

Thus Mr. Macray and the manuscript; but the line should undoubtedly read:

they . . . shall . . . all *meaner objects* scorne
Page 16, l. 486.—And make you melte in Venus' surquerie.

Mr. Macray says, in his "glossarial index," that "surquerie" was "apparently intended for suquerie, sugariness." But there cannot be the slightest doubt that "surquerie" was the scribe's error for "surquedrie," a word which meant *excess, surfeit* (especially with respect to indulgence), and is to be found in the writings of Gascoigne (1576), Spenser (1591), Greene (1594), Marston (1602), and others. (Cf. the *New English Dictionary.*)

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Page 18, l. 562.—A plague on youe, Javel, Tollet, *Tartare*!
A plague on youe Javel, Tollet, *Tarteret*

Tartoret, or Tartaret, not Tartare, lectured on Aristotle at Paris at the end of the fifteenth century, as Mr. Macray well knew. The name is given correctly in line 572.

Page 19, l. 566.—Why, *whiter* nowe in a chafe, Ingenioso?

This should, of course, be altered to

Why, *whither* nowe in a chafe, Ingenioso?

Page 21, l. 642.—esse posse *videaturs*
esse posse *videatur*
" " *l. 646.*—Cease to *spende* more of thy id[l]e breathe
Cease to *mispende* more of thy idle breathe

"Mispende" is, of course, "mis-spend."

Page 21, l. 656.—True solace, or true *happie* merrimente.
true solace, or true *hartie* merrimente.
" *27, l. 51.*—how manie *gallons* of milke
how manie *gallonts* of milke

Obsolete forms of words should be faithfully retained for their historic interest. (See the *N. E. D.*)

Page 27, l. 62.—the earth in *wantone* liverie/ Hath deckt herselfe
the earth in *wantome* liuerie/ Hath deckt herselfe

The form "wantom" occurs so frequently in this play that it must not be discarded. It should be retained for its own sake as well as for a possible clue to the identity of the author of the play. "Wantom" is not mentioned in the *N. E. D.*

Page 28, l. 99.—What! *I* leave Parnassus and these sisters Nine,
What! leave Parnassus, and these sisters Nine,

Page 30, ll. 143-44.—The manuscript gives this, incorrectly, as one line:

This duller discontent would quicklie die. And here he comes!

Page 40, l. 469.—the'le scrape where ther's no *hops* of silver!
thele scrape where thers no *hope* of siluer,
" " *l. 475.*—Thanks, Muses, that a part in sorrowe *beare!*
Longe may youre musick bless ech listninge *eare*!

In the manuscript these lines stand thus:

Thanks Muses that a part in sorrowe *beares*
longe may youre musick bless ech listninge *eares*

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though the *s* in "eares" is doubtful. This is an illustration of the carelessness with which the scribe did his work. In many instances he took no pains whatever to determine his author's meaning or even to ascertain what he wrote. This is important as proving that the manuscript is not a holograph.

Page 41, l. 503.—I had *alwayes bene* a kinde man to schollers
I had *bene alwaies* a kinde man to schollers
" " *l. 514.*—the more *willinge* he is . . . the slower he'le be to paye

Mr. Macray says in a footnote that the scribe wrote "willninge," but he is in error: the word is "willinnge," as may be seen by a comparison of this word with the word "wilinnglie" (not "wilninglie") in l. 618.

Page 41, l. 515.—a *note* . . . worthy thy retention,
a *rule* . . . worthy thy retention,
" *44, l. 603.*—untill some warblinge *winds/* Might drive my shipp
vntill some warblinge *winde/* might driue my shipp
" " *l. 605.*—But why doe I prolonge my tedious speeche?

After this line the scribe inadvertently omitted the following lines, probably because of the occurrence of the words "speeche" and "speake" in these three lines:

what idler thinge than speake & not be harde?
yet harde it is to smarte, & not to speake

Page 44, l. 608.—The scribe makes the words "& here he comes" part of line 607.

Page 46, l. 666.—my wages . . . some caste *out* of his . . . wardropp
my wages . . . some caste *suts* [= suits] of his . . . wardropp
" *47, l. 710.*—as ever put beggar in stocks
as ever put beggar in *the* stocks
" " *l. 722.*—the *ignorant* people that before calde mee Will
the *ingorant* people that before calde mee Will

Mr. Macray, unaware that "ingorant" was an old variant of "ignorant" (cf. the *New English Dictionary*), deliberately made the alteration. That the change is not permissible and illustrates a variety of inexcusable meddling with an author's text will be admitted by those who know, for example, that there are some half-dozen passages in Shakespeare in which the verse will not scan unless the word "ignorant" is read as a disyllable ("ing'rant").

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Lady Macbeth's "Thy letters have transported me beyond This ignorant present" is a case in point.

Page 48, l. 756.—Mr. Macray has omitted a stage-direction calling for the "*Exit*" of Philomusus.

Page 50, ll. 802-04.—In the manuscript these lines are given as two lines, thus:

I woulde ..... herselfe as
this worde ..... naked heade

Page 51, l. 818.—It is interesting to note that in the manuscript the stage-direction "*Enter Luxurio and his boye*" is, as usual, in the left margin and that there is nothing in the manuscript to indicate that the speech beginning with the words "Come boy" is not the continuation of Studioso's speech, which was interrupted by the entry of Luxurio and the boy. This phenomenon is, I believe, characteristic of the manuscript throughout. If Shakespeare or his copyist did anything like this, we have here an explanation for the occasional misassignment of speeches in the Folio.

Page 52, l. 879.—The manuscript reads: "my exploits . . . had bene *iettinge* . . . throughe everie by streete." Mr. Macray, probably not realizing the force of the picturesque word "jetting," altered it (silently) to the tame "getting."

Page 53, l. 885.—The word "a" was inadvertently omitted before "peasande."

Page 57, l. 1031.—To the injury of the sense Mr. Macray has substituted "invitation" for "imitation."

Page 57, l. 1037.—"But stay! it's verie true good witts have badd memories."

In a modernized text this should read:

"But stay! It's very true.—Good wits have bad memories."

Page 59, l. 1072.—Without a word of explanation Mr. Macray prints the unintelligible line: "I tolde them how costlie there *nutreringe* was." He evidently failed to note that the scribe had corrected "nutreringe" to "nurteringe." Leonard is commenting on how much the nurture of the boys had cost him.

Page 60, l. 1109.—The adjective modifying the word "times" presents difficulties in the manuscript. The copyist evidently could not read his copy and hesitatingly wrote "aclhoms times"; but the reading worried him and he altered it to something that Mr.

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Macray reads "ackhorns" and queries in a footnote whether the word is not "Acheron's." I have little doubt, after a careful reading of Consiliodorus' speech, that the poet wrote "authours (*i. e.*, authors') times."

Page 60, l. 1127.—For "20 angells" read "some 20 angells". In l. 1205 (on p. 63) insert "why" before "thou"; instead of "I am tirde" read "I am as tirde" in l. 1347 (p. 64); in l. 1254 read "thou might" for "thou mightest"; for the meaningless "hadle up service" in l. 1256 read (with the manuscript) "hudle up service"; in l. 1518 the manuscript calls for the word "euer" before the Greek quotation, and for "a" before the word "reckoninge" in l. 1521.

Page 66, l. 1317.—"I was put out by a stuttringe churchwarden"
"I was put out by a struttinge churchwarden"

The MS. reads "stuttinge." The poet whose work the scribe was copying undoubtedly made his *r*'s very much like his *t*'s, and hence we have such errors as "tunge" for "runge" (l. 1257 and "nutreringe" for "nurteringe."

Page 70, l. 1438.—why saide shee *that* shee knew mee not?
why saide shee *than* shee knew mee not?

The scribe frequently writes "than" for "then." The sense clearly requires "then."

Page 70, l. 1445.—I'le have some . . . *bearewoode* to cudgell the [etc.]
Ile haue some . . . *beareward* to cudgell the [etc.]

"Bearwoode" is meaningless. The scribe could not decipher the poet's "bear-ward" (probably written "beare-warde").

Page 70, l. 1455.—I woulde prove *it* upon that carrion
I woulde proue vpon that carrion

The scribe retained, unnecessarily, a word which the author had deleted.

Page 71, l. 1484.—tormented with the tedious *talks*/ Of Gullio's wench
tormented with the tedious *tatls*/ of Gullio's wench

The manuscript is undoubtedly *tatls*, in modern Italian script. The scribe's *k* is always the old English letter and cannot be mistaken for anything else; his *l* and his *t* are modern letters and present no difficulties; the final *e* is a modern letter and was

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changed to an *s*. Neither "talks" nor "tatles" is quite the appropriate word. From the fact that our transcriber frequently had difficulty in deciding whether his author meant to terminate a word with an *e* or the Old English *es*-symbol, I think it highly probable that in this instance the poet had written "tatle." It is worthy of particular notice that Mr. Macray experienced the same difficulty: he often adds an *s* to the end of a word because he mistakes the scribe's elongated final Italian *e* for his final *s* or *es*-symbol. That is why he printed "while" for "whils" in l. 1580. Incidentally it may be remarked that Shakespeare's manuscripts probably presented the same difficulty and that therefore the Folio text often contains a superfluous final *s*, as Walker long ago pointed out, and often lacks one where one is needed.[2]

New York City.

[2] See my essay, "More About the *Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLIII, 767-78.

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RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

By Hardin Craig

Note: The following bibliography attempts to include the more important books, articles, and reviews which appeared in the year ending December 31, 1928, together with the more noteworthy productions of 1927 and earlier recent years which have escaped the bibliographies appearing annually in the April numbers of *Studies in Philology*. These bibliographies are here referred to by the abbreviation *Bibl.* and the year of publication. Assistance, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged, has been rendered me in the compilation of the bibliography of the year 1928 by my pupils Mrs. Charles A. Sisson, Miss Madeleine Doran, and Mr. David Patrick. I wish also to acknowledge the kindness of the staff of the Stanford University Library.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*
Beiblatt = *Beiblatt zur Anglia.*
EHR = *English Historical Review.*
Eng. Stud = *Englische Studien.*
Gior. storico = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana.*
JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*
Literaturblatt = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.*
LTS = *Literary Supplement* to *The Times* (London).
MLN = *Modern Language Notes.*
MLR = *Modern Language Review.*
MP = *Modern Philology.*
Nation & Ath = *Nation and Athenæum* (London).
N & Q = *Notes and Queries.*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*
PQ = *Philological Quarterly.*
RES = *Review of English Studies.*
R du XVIe s = *Revue du seizième siècle.*
Rev. ang.-am = *Revue anglo-américaine.*
Rev. belge = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.*
Rev. litt. comp = *Revue de littérature comparée.*
SP = *Studies in Philology.*

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II. The Drama and the Stage.

NOTE: Section II has been made to include a number of items not in the English field or in the Renaissance. This has been done in deference to the somewhat extended range of the current study of English drama.

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Bentley, G. E. *The Dumb Band of Venice.* LTS, Dec. 6, 1928, p. 966.

Discovery among the Lord Chamberlain's papers (1628) of a reference to a King's men's play, *The Dumb Band of Venice*, which so far seems to have escaped notice.

Bentley, G. E. *Shakespeare's Fellows.* LTS, Nov. 15, 1928, p. 856.

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Boas, F. S. *Robert Poley: An Associate of Marlowe.* Nineteenth Century, CIV, 543-52.

See letters by Eugénie De Kalb and F. S. Boas in Nineteenth Century, CIV, 715-6; 850.

Additional investigation into the career of the spy, Robert Poley, and his connection with the Walsingham circle, particularly with Thomas, the friend and patron of Marlowe.

Bolte, Johannes (ed.). *Drei Schauspiele vom sterbenden Menschen.* 1. Das Münchener Spiel von 1510. 2. Der Hecastus des Macropedius, 1539. 3. Der Mercator des Naogeorgus, 1540. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1927.

Rev. by Kuno Francke in JEGP, XXVII, 236-8.

Brettle, R. E. *Eastward Ho, 1605.* By Chapman, Jonson, and Marston. Bibliography and Circumstances of Production. Library, N. S. IX, 287-304.

The author argues that the imprisonment of Jonson and Chapman over *Eastward Ho* was due to the unlicensed presentation of the play on the stage and not to its publication. This is at variance with Dr. W. W. Greg's opinion (MLR, XXIII, 76 ff.) that it was offensive matter concerning the Scots contained in the early issues of the first edition (1605) which caused their imprisonment. In a postscript to Mr. Brettle's article Dr. Greg reasserts his view.

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Brinkley, Roberta Florence. *Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright.* Yale Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. vi, 159.

Brown, E. R. *Jonson's "A Tale of a Tub."* LTS, May 10, 1928, p. 358.

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Brunner, Thomas. *Jacob und seine zwölf Söhne.* Ein ev. Schulspiel aus Steyr. 1566. Hrsg. v. Robert Stumpfl. Halle: Niemeyer, 1928. Pp. xxxvi, 11.

Buckingham, Elizabeth Lee. *Campion's "Art of English Poesie" and Middleton's "Chaste Maid in Cheapside."* PMLA, XLIII, 784-92.

Campion's *The eight Epigramme* appears to be a source for the Alwit-Whorehound plot in Webster's play.

Cason, Clarence E. *Additional Lines for Bale's "Kynge Johan."* JEGP, XXVII, 42-50.

Mr. Cason transcribes thirty-four lines from a supplementary sheet appended to Bang's facsimile (1909) which seem to supply a portion of the play omitted in the editions of Collier, Manly, and Farmer.

Chapman, George, and others. *Eastward Hoe.* Edited by Julia Hamlet Harris. Yale Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. by W. W. Greg in MLR, XXIII, 76; by Ph. Aronstein in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 193-4; see Bibl. 1928, p. 199.

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Clark, A. M. *A Bibliography of Thomas Heywood.* In *Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers,* Vol. I, 1922-1926, pp. 97-153. Oxford Univ. Press, 1927.

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Clark, Eleanor Grace. *The York Plays and the "Gospel of Nicodemus."* PMLA, XLIII, 153-61.

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Rev. by Wolfgang Wurzbach in Literaturblatt, XLIX, 24-7; by R. Lebègue in Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France, XXXV, 261-2; by A. Wallenskõld in Neuphil. Mittn., XXIX, 185; by Lucien-Paul Thomas in Rev. belge, VII, 622-8; see Bibl. 1928, p. 199.

Cohen, Gustave. *Le théâtre en France au moyen âge.* I. Le théâtre religieux. Paris: Edit. Rieder, 1928. Pp. 110, 59 plates.

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Cons, Louis. *L'Auteur de la farce de "Pathelin."* Princeton, 1926.

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Day, Cyrus L. *Thomas Randolph and "The Drinking Academy."* PMLA, XLIII, 800-9.

A series of very close parallels, mostly from *The Jealous Lovers*, indicates Randolph as the author also of *The Drinking Academy*.

Dekker, Thomas. *The Shoemaker's Holiday.* Ed. by J. R. Sutherland. Oxford Univ. Press, American Branch, 1928. Pp. 60.

Dent, Edward J. *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England during the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. xi, 242.

Rev. in LTS, June 21, 1928, p. 464; in N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 106; in Sat. Rev., CXLVI, 126.

Dunkel, W. D. *The Authorship of "Anything for a Quiet Life."* PMLA, XLIII, 793-9.

Webster has been credited, on insufficient grounds, with the chief share in the authorship of this play. The writer of the article finds Middleton's hand in every scene except IV, i.

Dustoor, P. E. *Notes on the E. E. T. S. Edition of the Newcastle "Noah's Ark."* MLN, XLIII, 252-5.

Dustoor, P. E. *Textual Notes on the Chester Old Testament Plays.* Anglia, LII, 97-112.

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Dustoor, P. E. *Textual Notes on the York Old Testament Plays.* Anglia, LII, 26-36.

Eckhardt, Eduard. *Das englische Drama im Zeitalter der Reformation und der Hochrenaissance.* Vorstufen, Shakespeare und seine Zeit. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928. Pp. xii, 293.

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Rev. by G. B. Harrison in RES, IV, 447-8; by F. C. Danchin in Rev. ang.-am, V, 165-7; see Bibl. 1928, p. 200.

Ferguson, A. S. *Chapman, "The Tragedy of Chabot," Act III, sc. ii, ll. 147-68.* MLR, XXIII, 46.

Flood, W. H. Grattan. *A John Marston Letter.* RES, IV, 86-7.

See note by Robert E. Brettle, *The "Poet Marston" Letter to Sir Gervase Clifton, 1607*, RES, IV, 212-4.

Foster, Frances A. *Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the "Secunda Pastorum?"* PMLA, XLIII, 124-36.

Fraser-Harris, D. *Thought and Brain: A Guess by Shakespeare.* Cornhill Magazine, N. S. LXIV, 671-7.

Shakespeare's medical knowledge and intuition.

Fredén, Gustaf. *À propos du théâtre anglais en Allemagne: l'auteur inconnu des "Comédies et tragédies anglaises de 1620."*

Rev. litt. comp, VIII, 420-32.

On the basis of list of writings of Friedrich Menius published by Mr. M. J. Nordström (*Samlaren*, 1922) which claims authorship of *Englische Comoedien.* 2 Theil. Altenburg in Verlegung Gottfried Groszen . . . 1620, for Menius, M. Fredén gives an account of Menius and discusses the plays as his work. The conclusions are that Menius revised them with a considerable degree of independence and in accordance with a knowledge of the earlier German drama, particularly the school drama.

G., I. *Drayton and Polesworth.* N & Q, Vol. 154, p. 388.

See reply by H. Askew in N & Q, Vol. 154, p. 447.

Gargano, G. S. *La commedia dell' arte e l'antico teatro inglese.* Marzocco, 15 gennaio, 1928.

Review of a Series of Papers on Shakespeare and the Theater by Members of the Shakespeare Association. Oxford Univ. Press, 1927.

Gassies, G. (trans.). *Anthologie du théâtre français du moyen âge.* II. Théâtre sérieux: mystères, miracles, moralités des XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Traduit en français moderne. Paris: Delagrave, 1928. Pp. 475.

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Geisler, Ad. *Der Einfluss der Tamburlaine-Rolle bis zum Untergang des Elizabeth-Theaters.* Berliner Diss., 1928. Pp. 44.

Gillet, Joseph E. *"Danza del Santissimo Nacimiento." A Sixteenth-Century Play by Pedro Suárez de Robles.* PMLA, XLIII, 614-34.

Reprints a Christmas play and dance of about 1561 from the second edition, Madrid 1606, and sketches the history of dancing in the church.

Golding, S. R. *The Authorship of "Edward III."* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 313-5.

Puts forth Robert Wilson, on the basis of verbal parallels, as probable author.

Golding, S. R. *The Authorship of "Lust's Dominion."* N & Q, Vol. 155, pp. 399-402.

Mr. Golding thinks that this play was originally written early in the nineties by an imitator of Marlowe and that it was revised by one or more dramatists some years later.

Golding, S. R. *Robert Wilson and "Sir Thomas More."* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 237-9; 259-62; Vol. 155, p. 237-40.

On the basis of parallels to Robert Wilson's authentic and possible work, the author assigns to him the authorship of the three MS. pages of *Sir Thomas More* (II, iv, 1-172) which have been ascribed to Shakespeare. See also correspondence by S. O. Addy in N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 335-6; by Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *ibid.*, pp. 465-6.

Gollancz, Sir Israel. *I. Was "A. B." the Earl of Essex? II. Ben Jonson and Greeneway's Annals.* LTS, May 10, 1928, p. 355.

In the first article Sir Israel describes a copy of the first edition (1591) of Savile's translation of the *Histories* of Tacitus. It is a presentation copy and has on the title-page *Ex dono Annæ Barnes* printed in the type of the book. This unknown person may be the writer of the preface long ascribed to the Earl of Essex. In the second article Sir Israel has recourse to another book in his library. It is a copy of Greeneway's translation of the *Annals* (1598), so marked and underlined as to indicate use in the composition of Jonson's *Sejanus.* The passages so indicated have agreements between Jonson and Greeneway where, in some cases, the original differs. The copy may have belonged to Jonson. See letter by Percy Simpson, LTS, June 14, 1928, p. 450; by Sir Israel Gollancz, LTS, June 21, 1928, p. 468.

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Gray, Austin K. *Some Observations on Christopher Marlowe, Government Agent.* PMLA, XLIII, 682-700.

Builds up for Marlowe on the basis of the existing records a conjectural career as a government spy.

Greg, W. W. *The Printing of Mayne's Plays.* In *Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers,* Vol. I, 1922-1926. Pp. 255-62. Oxford Univ. Press, 1927.

Grester, Jakob. *Das Bruder-Klausen Spiel vom Jahre 1586: Comoedia de vita Nicolai Unterwaldii eremitae Helvetii.* Hrsg. v. Emanuel Scherer. Basel: J. & F. Hess, 1928. Pp. 126.

Gros, Étienne. *Les origines de la tragédie lyrique et la place des tragédies en machines dans l'évolution de théâtre vers l'opéra.* Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France, XXXV, 161-93.

Hatzfeld, Anton von. *John Ford, der Dichter von Schwermut.* Vossische Ztg., 1927, Unterh.-Bl., 242.

Heaton, H. C. *Two Sixteenth-Century Dramatic Works.* Rev. hispanique, LXXII, 1-101.

Reprints from Gothic type editions (copies of which form part of a factitious volume composed of seven sixteenth-century plays and preserved in the Arsenal library in Paris, 12261. B. L.) of Juan de Uceda's *Comedia Grassandora* and Salazar's *Egloga de Breno.*

Hendy, E. W. *John Webster: Playwright and Naturalist.* Nineteenth Century, CIII, 111-23.

Hillebrand, Harold Newcomb. *The Child Actors.* Univ. of Illinois Press, 1926.

Rev. by George F. Reynolds in MLN, XLIII, 199-201; by W. W. Greg in MLR, XXIII, 76-7; by E. Eckhardt in Eng. Stud, LXIII, 101-7; by S. B. Liljegren in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 341-2; by Tucker Brooke in JEGP, XXVII, 434-7; see Bibl. 1928, p. 202.

Hotson, Leslie. *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. ix, 424.

Rev. in LTS, Nov. 15, 1928, p. 853.

Isaacs, J. (ed.). *The Chester Play of the Deluge.* With Engravings on Wood by David Jones. Waltham St. Lawrence: Golden Cockerel Press, 1928. Pp. 17.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 8, 1928, p. 217.

Jonson, Ben. *The Alchemist.* Edited by R. J. L. Kingsford. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. 149.

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Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson.* Edited by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. Vol. III. Oxford, 1927.

Rev. by W. W. Greg in MLR, XXIII, 75; by Ph. Aronstein in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 194-5; by Karl Brunner in Archiv, N. S. LIII, 133-41; by Charles R. Baskervill in MP, XXV, 367-8; see also letter by Percy Simpson, *Jonson's "A Tale of a Tub,"* in LTS, May 17, 1928, p. 379; see Bibl. 1928, p. 203.

Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson's "Volpone."* Freely adapted into German by Stefan Zweig. Translated by Ruth Langner. New York: Viking Press, 1928. Pp. 187.

Rev. by J. M. Brown in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 782-3.

Jonson, Ben. *Everyman in his Humor.* The Borzoi English Dramatists Series. New York: Knopf, 1928. Pp. 134.

Kalepky, Theodor. *"Die Freude am Tragischen."—Shakespeare—Aristoteles.* Germ.-rom. Mschr., XVI, 168-71.

Reply to an article with the same title by Max J. Wolff, Germ.-rom. Mschr., XIV, 390-7.

Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. *More on the "Voces del Cielo."* Romanic Rev., XIX, 154-6.

Supplementary to the author's study of the *voces del cielo*, a stage-technical device used by Mira de Amescua, partly under classical influence, in Romanic Rev., XVII, 65-8.

Kuhl, E. P. *Contemporary Politics in Elizabethan Drama: Fulke Greville.* PQ, VII, 299-302.

Larsen, T. *The Canon of Peele's Works.* MP, XXVI, 191-9.

Larsen, T. *The Father of George Peele.* MP, XXVI, 69-71.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. in leading article in LTS, July 5, 1928, pp. 493-4; by Louis B. Wright in MLN, XLIII, 118-20; by Harley Granville-Barker in RES, IV, 229-37; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 119-20; notice by D. M. Morton in Theatre Arts Monthly, XII, 375; by F. Delatte in Rev. belge, VII, 1098; see Bibl. 1928, p. 203.

Lawrence, W. J. *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. by Louis B. Wright in MLN, XLIII, 118-20; by Harley Granville-Barker in RES, IV, 229-37; by Frank Birch in London Mercury, XVIII, 442; notice by D. M. Morton in Theatre Arts Monthly, XII, 375; see Bibl. 1928, p. 203.

Lawrence, W. J. *A Puzzling Point in "A Woman Is a Weathercock."* LTS, July 12, 1928, p. 520.

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Lawton, Harold Walter. *Notes sur le décor scénique au XVI^e siècle.* R du XVI^es, XV, 161-4.

Linthicum, M. Channing. *Green Shoestrings.* PQ, VII, 198-9.

Refers to the language of colors in sixteenth-century courtship.

Linthicum, M. Channing. *"A Pore Helpe" and its Printers.* Library, N. S. IX, 169-83.

A possible echo of two lines of ***Ralph Roister Doister*** in this tract (noted by T. W. Baldwin, PQ, VI, 379-82) indicates a date as early as 1549 for the play, since Miss Linthicum's date for the tract is 1548-9.

Lloyd, Bertram. *The Juggling Captain in "The Fair Maid of the Inn."* LTS, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 28.

Mr. Lloyd identifies the "juggling captain" with one Captain Bubb, pilloried for fortune-telling in 1618.

Lodge, Oliver W. F. *Ben Jonson, Stow and Drummond.* LTS, May 31, 1928, p. 412.

Makes the plausible suggestion that in the following passage from the *Conversations* with Drummond, "he and I" in the second sentence refers to Jonson and Drummond, not Jonson and Stow: "John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle and was of his craft a Tailour. he and I walking alone he asked two Criples what they would have to take him to their order."

McIlwraith, A. K. *"W. B." and Massinger.* RES, IV, 326-7.

Identifies these initials signing commendatory verses to two of Massinger's plays as probably belonging to William Bagnall.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus.* Borzoi English Dramatists Series. New York: Knopf, 1928. Pp. 123.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus.* Ed. by A. H. Sleight. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928. Pp xiv, 64.

Marschall, Wilhelm. *Das "Sir Thomas More"—Manuskript und die englische "Commedia dell'arte."* Anglia, LII, 193-241.

The author proposes the theory that the collaborating authors of *Sir Thomas More* composed the lines of the play *ex tempore* as they acted out a plot previously agreed upon. The copyist's manuscript resulting from this action was then revised. Professor Marschall believes this to have been a rather common method of collaboration.

Maxwell, Baldwin. *The Date of "The Noble Gentleman."* MLN, XLIII, 22-7.

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On the basis of a reference to the shipment of maids to Virginia, Professor Maxwell dates the composition of the play in 1621 or 1622.

Maxwell, Baldwin. *Notes on Charles Hopkins' "Boadicea."* RES, IV, 79-83.

Calls attention to Hopkins' allusions to Shakespeare and his indebtedness to Fletcher's *Bonduca*.

Mayer, Friedrich Arnold. *Katalog der "Alten Bibliothek" des Theaters an der Wien.* Wien: Höfels in Komm., 1928. Pp. 167.

Notice in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXIX, 787.

Meyerstein, E. H. W. *"Was this the Face."* LTS, Mar. 22, 1928, p. 221.

A letter giving a group of parallels from Lucian and others to Marlowe's lines on Helen in *Dr. Faustus*.

Middleton, Thomas. *A Game at Chess.* Edited by R. C. Bald. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928.

Mill, Anna Jean. *Medieval Plays in Scotland.* (Diss.) London: Milford, for the Univ. of St. Andrews, 1928. Pp. 356.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 22, 1928, p. 211; in N & Q, Vol. 154, p. 144.

Moon, A. R. *Nicholas Udall's Lost Tragedy "Ezechias."* LTS, Apr. 19, 1928, p. 289.

The author argues that the tragedy *Ezechias* acted by students of King's College, Cambridge, before Queen Elizabeth in 1564 was a revival of a play written during Udall's Eton period, i. e. 1537-9; he also thinks it identical with the *Tragœdia de papatu* mentioned by Bale in *Scriptores Brittaniæ*.

Moore, John R. *Thomas Heywood's "Pack Clouds Away" and "The Rape of Lucrece."* SP, XXV, 171-7.

Mr. Moore finds in the printed text no indication that any song has ever dropped out except, perhaps, "Pack clouds away."

Müller, Walther. *Der schauspielerische Stil im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters.* (Form und Geist I) Leipzig, 1927.

Rev. by Richard Alewyn in Literaturblatt, XLIX, 336-8; see Bibl. 1928, p. 206.

Mustard, W. P. *"Agrippa's Shadows."* MLN, XLIII, 325.

Explanation of an allusion in the second prologue of Lyly's *Campaspe*.

Narciss, Georg Adolf. *Studien zu den Frauenzimmergespräch-*

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spielen Georg Philipp Harsdöfers (1607-1658). Leipzig: Eichblatt, 1928. Pp. vii, 221.

Nethercot, Arthur H. *Abraham Cowley as Dramatist.* RES, IV, 1-24.

A study, chiefly from the point of view of sources and stage history, of the five plays which Cowley wrote or in which he had a part: *Love's Riddle, Naufragium Joculare, The Guardian, Cutter of Coleman-Street, The Rehearsal.*

Nicoll, Allardyce. *The Development of the Theatre.* London, 1927.

Rev. by D. M. Oenslager in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 842; by Friedrich Brie in Eng. Stud, LXIII, 95-8; see Bibl. 1928, p. 206.

Oliphant, E. H. C. *A Note.* MLN, XLIII, 112-3.

Reply to *The Authorship of Acts III and IV of "The Queen of Corinth,"* by Frank L. Fenton, MLN, XLII, 94-6.

Oliphant, E. H. C. *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.* Yale Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. by H. Dugdale Sykes in RES, IV, 456-63; in LTS, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 8; letter by Mr. Oliphant, LTS, Feb. 23, 1928, pp. 130-1; rev. by Rudolf Imelmann in Dt. Litztg., N. F. V, 1268-70; by Charles Sisson in MLR, XXIII, 356-7; by E. G. Twitchett in London Mercury, XVIII, 99-100; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 273-4; by T. M. Parrott in PQ, VII, 413-5; see Bibl. 1928, p. 206.

Oliphant, E. H. C. *Who was Henry Porter?* PMLA, XLIII, 572-5.

See Bibl. 1928, p. 207, under Shear, Rosetta E.

Olivero, F. *Sul Bandello ed il dramma elisabettiano.* Annali dell' Instituto Superiore di Magistero del Piemonte, II (1928).

Peacock, Matthew H. *Wakefield Mysteries.* LTS, June 7, 1928, p. 431.

See Bibl. 1926, p. 225.

Peel, John Kennair. *Fat Drake.* LTS, Sept. 20, 1928, p. 667.

Suggestion that the reference to "Fat Drake" in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (Induction, ll. 32-3) is to the Blackfriars' scavenger. Also interpretation of Induction, ll. 103-4.

Petracconi, Enzo (ed.). *La commedia dell'arte: Storia, Tecnica, Scenari.* Napoli, 1927.

Rev. by Winifred Smith in Romanic Rev., XIX, 179-80; in Nuova antologia, An. 63°, fasc. 1355, p. 136.

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Contains selections from Renaissance documents descriptive of the *commedia dell'arte* and twenty scenarios. See Bibl. 1928, p. 206.

Ploch, Georg. *Über den Dialog in den Dramen Shakespeares und seiner Vorläufer.* Giessener Beitr. z. Erforschung d. Sprache u. Kultur Englands u. Nordamerikas, II, 2.

Praz, Mario. *Ben Jonson.* La cultura, VI, 12.

Ryan, M. J. *Tamquam Explorator.* LTS, July 19, 1928, p. 536.

Motto usually inscribed by Jonson on his title-pages; from Seneca, *Epp.* i, 2.

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Points out the occurrence in other places of this formula which appears in Marlowe's *Edward II*, v, iv, 8.

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Walz, John A. *Notes on the Puppet Play of Doctor Faust.* PQ, VII, 224-30.

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Wells, William. *"The Bloody Brother."* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 6-9.

Assigns to Chapman, on the basis of vocabulary, rimed couplets, and thought, the authorship of III, i, and IV, iii; agrees that the other authors are Fletcher, Massinger, and Jonson, and dates the original composition of the play c. 1615.

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Whitmore, J. B. *Nicholas Udall.* N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 79.

See letter by H. S. G. giving references to The Essex Review, XXII, 142-52, and XXIII, 11-9, in N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 124.

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Wright, Louis B. *"A Game at Chess."* LTS, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 112.

The writer of this letter advances the idea that Middleton's play was directed toward the awakening of popular interest in intervention to reclaim the Palatinate from the Spaniards, and must have been sponsored secretly by Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham. See letter by R. C. Bald, LTS, May 17, 1928, p. 379.

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Wright, Louis B. *Notes on Thomas Heywood's Later Reputation.* RES, IV, 135-44.

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Suggests that the emphasis placed in this play on the political necessity of the hero's marrying to provide an heir is probably due to the importance of the question concerning Elizabeth's marriage.

Wright, Louis B. *The Scriptures and the Elizabethan Stage.* MP, XXVI, 47-56.

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III. SHAKESPEARE.

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Albright, Evelyn May. *The Folio Version of "Henry V."* PMLA, XLIII, 722-56.

Miss Albright finds Essex allusions in those Folio passages which do not appear in the Quarto. Professor Craig's article (PQ, VI, 225-34) is sacrificed to the Cause. (D. P.)

Alexander, P. *"Troilus and Cressida," 1609.* Library, N. S. IX, 267-86.

The author regards the 1623 folio version of *Troilus and Cressida*

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as printed from the Quarto text of 1609 with corrections from a stage manuscript of an earlier version than that of the Quarto.

Allen, Percy. *Historical Originals of Ophelia.* Shakespeare Rev., I, 166-71.

Allen, Percy. *Shakespeare, Jonson, and Wilkins as Borrowers.* A Study in Elizabethan Origins and Imitations. With an Introduction by R. P. Cowl. London: Cecil Palmer, 1928. Pp. xix, 236.

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The "borrowings" may be separated, according to the reviewer in LTS, into: Shakespeare's borrowings from himself; Jonson's borrowings from Shakespeare (deliberately satirical); borrowings in *Pericles* (attributed to Wilkins); Milton's borrowings from Shakespeare.

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Notice in LTS, Apr. 19, 1928, p. 293; rev. by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 275-6; see Bibl. 1928, p. 211.

[Bacon-Shakespeare]. *A Baconian Encyclopedia Wanted.* London Mercury, XIX, 8.

See M. W. Douglas, *An Anti-Shakespeare Encyclopedia.* London Mercury, XIX, 184.

Bald, R. C. *"Macbeth" and the "Short" Plays.* RES, IV, 429-31.

A stage-direction ("Ring the bell," II, iii, 85) suggests the possibility of the acting of *Macbeth* at court and lends weight to Professor Pollard's contention for a class of short plays given at private performances.

Baldwin, Thomas Whitfield. *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company.* Princeton Univ. Press, 1927.

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Barret, Pringle. *Shakespeare's Paraphrase of his "Thought-Executing Fires."* MLN, XLIII, 316-7.

Explains the phrase in *Lear*, III, ii, 4.

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Benedetti, Anna. *L'ordine originale dei sonetti di Guglielmo Shakespeare.* Revista d'Italia, XXXI, 120-9.

Bethurum, Dorothy. *The Immortal Word-Smith.* Sewanee Rev., XXXVI, 62-75.

A study of Shakespeare's apparent poetic digressions.

Boas, F. S. *An Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare.* London, 1927.

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Boas, F. S. *Shakespeare Societies: Past and Present.* Shakespeare Rev., I, 315-21.

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Notice in RES, IV, 373.

Boggs, R. S. *La Mujer mandona de Shakespeare y de Juan Manuel.* Hispania, X, 419-22.

Bowen, C. M. *On a Line from "Romeo and Juliet."* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 167-8.

Interpretation of the line "Seal up the mouth of outrage for a while" (V, iii, 216) as having the value of a stage direction for drawing the inner curtain and concealing the bodies.

Boyce, Rowland. O'H. *"As You Like It:" De Bois: Weston-in-Arden.* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 368-9.

See correspondence in N & Q as follows: Alfred Ransford, Vol. 154, pp. 461-3; Vol. 155, pp. 159-60.

Bradby, G. F. *About Shakespeare and his Plays.* Second ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. 94.

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Bradby, G. F. *The Problems of Hamlet.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. 60.

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Brandl, A. *Shakespeares Heirat: Legitimes und Illegitimes.* Voss. Ztg. Unterhaltungsbl., 1928, XIX.

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Bray, Sir Denys. *The Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets.* London, 1925.

Rev. by Wilhelm Marschall in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 99-102; see Bibl. 1928, p. 213.

Brereton, J. Le Gay. *"Much Adoe About Nothing," IV, i, 145-160.* RES, IV, 84-6.

Finds evidence of interpolation in the crowding of type at the bottom of signature G in the 1600 quarto.

Brooke, Stopford. *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare. Ten More Plays of Shakespeare.* New York: Oxford Univ. Press, American Branch, 1927. Pp. 312; 314.

Rev. by H. S. V. Jones in MLN, XLIII, 566; notice by D. M. Morton in Theatre Arts Monthly, XII, 375.

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Brooke, Tucker. *Shakespeare of Stratford.* Yale Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. by Edwin Greenlaw in Yale Rev., N. S. XVIII, 189-92; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 42; see Bibl. 1928, p. 213.

Brunner, Karl. *Die erste deutsche Romeo-Übersetzung.* Archiv, N. S. LIII, 188-201.

Gives an account of the translation into German of *Romeo and Juliet* by Johann Jakob Schorndorff, which appeared in a collection entitled *Neue Probstücke der englischen Schaubühne, aus der Ursprung übersetzt von einem guten Geschmacks.* Basel, 1758. The article makes an interesting contribution to the subject of Shakespeare in Germany.

Chambers, Sir E. K. *Actors' "Gag" in Elizabethan Plays.* LTS, Mar. 8, 1928, p. 170.

Expresses agreement with Mr. P. Alexander (See Bibl. 1925, p. 290) that the two parts of *The Contention of York and Lancaster* are reported texts of *1* and *2 Henry VI* and not the originals of these plays. In *2 Henry VI* (IV, ii, 1) the "Beuis" who enters is probably an actor and played the part of the Armourer in II, iii. To one of his speeches in *The Contention* is added, "as Bevis of Southhampton fell upon Askapart." This Sir Edmund regards as an actor's "gag." See also letter by T. W. Baldwin, LTS, Apr. 19, 1928, p. 290.

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Cowl, R. P. *Notes on the Text of "King Henry the Fourth."* London: Elkin Mathews and Marrot, 1928. Pp. 21.

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Croce, Benedetto. *Un viaggiatore in Italia nel settecento, apostolo dello Shakespeare.* La critica, XXVI, 461-7.

The reference is to Martin Sherlock, an Irishman who visited Italy about 1778.

Davies, Randall. *Notes upon Some of Shakespeare's Sonnets.* London: Cayme Press, 1928. Pp. 46.

Notice in LTS, June 14, 1928, p. 454.

de Groot, H. *De geschiedenis van het Hamletprobleem.* Neophilologus, XIII, 282-93.

After a review of the earlier romantic conceptions of Hamlet's character and the more recent pathological conceptions, the author suggests that the psychological and the tragic points of view are not identical and that out of both methods of study a truer conception of the character is emerging.

Derocquigny, Jules. *Shakespeare, "King Lear," I, i, 199.* Rev. ang.-am, V, 459-61.

Doran, Madeleine. *Actors' Names in the "Contention" and "2 Henry VI."* PQ, VII, 399-400.

Dubeux, Albert. *Les traductions françaises de Shakespeare.* In *Études françaises,* XV. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1928. Pp. 83.

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Eliot, T. S. *Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca.* London, 1927.

Rev. in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXIX, 450; by A. Eichler in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 108-9; by Mario Praz in Engl. Studies, X, 79-87; notice by D. S. Mirsky in London Mercury, XVII, 210; see Bibl. 1928, p. 215.

Falconer, J. A. *Shakespeare's Lost Chance.* Neophilologus, XIII, 117-23.

The writer conceives of Shakespeare as failing to enter into the actual tragic problems in his women's minds, though prone enough to do this thing with his men. The chief illustration is drawn from Isabella in *Measure for Measure,* whom even Cinthio makes more consistent and human.

Farmer, A. J. *Hamlet's Fatness.* LTS, Apr. 26, 1928, p. 313.

Regards *Hamlet* v, ii, 282-5, and v, ii, 298-9 (*He's fat . . . brows.*) as interpolations to fit the obeisity of an actor, and claims that both passages read appropriately when the lines in question are omitted.

Formici, Carlo. *Guglielmo Shakespeare.* Roma: Collezione "Profili" dell'Editore Formiggini, 1928. Pp. 82.

Rev. in Nuova antologia, CCLX, 134-5.

Förster, Max. *Shakespeare-Musik. I.* Germ.-rom. Mschr., XVI, 298-304.

Forsythe, Robert S. *"The Merry Wives of Windsor:" Two New Analogues.* PQ, VII, 390-8.

The analogues are (1) Doni's *The Bolognese Doctor and the Foolish Student,* and (2) Pietro Fortini's *The Florentine Doctor and the Student.*

Fort, J. A. *Further Notes on Shakespeare's Sonnets.* Library, N. S. IX, 305-25.

Fripp, Edgar I. *The Religion of Shakespeare's Father.* Hibbert Journal, XXVI, 535-47.

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Gargáno, G. S. *Una problematica fonte Shakespeariana: Le piacevoli Notti di Straparola.* Marzocco, Nov. 1927.

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Gaw, Alison. *The Origin and Development of "I Henry VI".* Los Angeles, 1927.

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Glänzer, Karl. *Unser Verhältnis zu Shakespeare.* Der neue Weg, LVII, 91-2.

Gordon, George. *Shakespeare's English.* S. P. E. Tract No. XXIX. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. Pp. 256-76.

Rev. in LTS, June 21, 1928, p. 465; by Leonard Woolf in Nation & Ath, XLIII, 679; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 271-2.

Granville-Barker, Harley. *Prefaces to Shakespeare.* First series. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1927. Pp. xl, 231.

Rev. in leading article in LTS, July 5, 1928, pp. 493-4; by Émile Legouis in Rev. ang.-am, V, 468-72; by V. R. in Engl. Rev., XLVI, 115-6; by Frank Birch in London Mercury, XVIII, 441-2; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 46; see Bibl. 1928, p. 217.

Gray, Arthur. *A Chapter in the Early Life of Shakespeare.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. by Louis B. Wright in MLN, XLIII, 144; see Bibl. 1928, p. 217.

Gray, Arthur. *How Shakespeare "Purged" Jonson: A Problem Solved.* Cambridge: Heffer, 1928. Pp. 34.

Rev. in LTS, May 3, 1928, p. 330; in N & Q, Vol. 154, p. 378; see also Arlington, *Will Kemp*, N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 46; notice in Saturday Rev., CXLV, 639; by W. B. Kempling in Shakespeare Rev., I, 272-3.

This pamphlet puts forward the theory that Jacques in *As You Like It* was Shakespeare's caricature of Jonson. The reviewer in LTS urges against the theory Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's argument for Nym in *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* see letter by Arthur Gray, LTS, May 10, 1928, p. 358; by Sir George Greenwood, LTS, May 17, 1928, p. 379; by M. P. Tilley, LTS, Oct. 11, 1928, p. 736.

Gray, Austin K. *Shakespeare and "Titus Andronicus."* SP, XXV, 295-311.

Gray, Henry David. *Reconstruction of a Lost Play.* PQ, VII, 254-74.

An attempt to determine the plot of the hypothetical lost play by Thomas Kyd usually called *Ur-Hamlet.*

Greg, W. W. *Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare.* Annual

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Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1928. Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. 72.

Rev. in LTS, Oct. 4, 1928, p. 705; in N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 378; by René Hague in London Mercury, XIX, 210.

Griffith, Hubert. *Iconoclastes: or The Future of Shakespeare.* London: Kegan Paul, 1927. Pp. 95.

Rev. in LTS, Jan. 10, 1928, p. 25; by Frank Birch in London Mercury, XVIII, 441.

A rather poor little book, apparently written by one who, knowing little about Shakespeare and liking him much, regards the playing of Shakespeare in modern dress as the one essential thing.

Gundolf, Friedrich. *Shakespeare. Sein Wesen und Werk.* Bde. I & II. Berlin: Bondi, 1928. Pp. 467.

Harmatopegos. *"Troilus and Cressida:" "My sacred aunt."* N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 134.

In this passage (IV, v, 134) Shakespeare was apparently under the impression that the mother of Ajax was Hesione, for which relationship there is no authority.

Harris, Frank. *Shakespeare: Der Mensch und seine tragische Lebensgeschichte.* Deutsch von A. Valentin. Berlin: Fischer, 1928. Pp. 384.

Rev. in Voss. Ztg., 1927, 52; by Ludwig Albert in Die Literatur, XXX, 424-5; by Karl Schaezler in Hochland, XXV, 9, 326-9; see Eberlein, *Shakespeare und die deutsche Geist*, Der Kunstwart, XLI, 272-3.

Harrison, G. B. "The Mortal Moon." LTS, Nov. 29, 1928, p. 938.

Evidence from contemporary sources tending to date the writing of Shakespeare's Sonnet 107 in 1596.

Harrison T. P., Jr. *"Othello" as a Model for Dryden in "All for Love."* Univ. of Texas Studies in English, VII. Univ. of Texas, 1927. Pp. 136-43.

Hauptmann, Gerhart. *Hamlet in neuer Gestalt.* Voss. Ztg., 1927, 286. Unterhaltbl.

Rev. in Der neue Weg, LVII, 4; by Berthold Held in Die Scene, XVIII, 53-4.

Herzog, Paul. *Der untragische Shakespeare.* Germania. Werk und Welt, Nr. 20.

Hoffmann-Harnisch, Wolfgang. *Shakespeare der Guckkastenbühne.* Berliner Börsen Ztg., (1928) Nr. 156.

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Horn, Wilhelm. *Die Kinder des Macbeth.* Archiv, N. S. LIV, 275-6.

Hülsmann, Helene. *Die Metaphorn in Shakespeares "Romeo and Juliet."* Diss. Münster, 1928. Pp. 93.

Kalepky, Theodor. *Ein neu erschlossener Shakespeare Stelle.* (*As You Like It,* III, iii, 13-5) Germ.-rom. Mschr., XVI, 89-92.

Kalepky, Theodor. *Shakespeares Krankheit und Tod.* Zs. f. franz. u. engl. Unterricht, XXVII, 111-7.

Reply to A. Guthman, Shakespeare-Jb., LXI, 89-93.

Kalepky, Theodor. *Eine "ungereimte" Lesart in Shakespeares "Midsummer-Night's Dream."* Germ.-rom. Mschr. XVI, 240-4.

Would make lines 169 and 170, Act I, sc. i, rhyme by reading *craft* and *shaft*.

Kamnitz, E. (ed.). *W. Shakespeare, Der Londoner verlorene Sohn.* Nach der Übersetzung von L. Tieck bearbeitet und szenisch ergänzt. Berlin: Bühnenvolksbundverlag, 1926. Pp. 171.

Rev. in Zs. f. franzos. u. engl. Unterricht, XXVII, 470.

Keller, Waldemar. *Die grösste Shakespeare Bücherei der Welt.* Hamburger Frendenbl., Nr. 187.

Concerns the twenty-five thousand volumes of the American multimillionaire Henry C. Folger of Washington.

Keller, Wolfgang (ed.). *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch.* Hrsg. im. Auftr. d. Dt. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Bd. LXIV (N. F. V). Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1928. Pp. iv, 259.

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Bd. XLIV contains articles as follows: Tesdorpf-Sieckenberger, Th., u. Tesdorpf, P. H., *Auf Sh.'s Spuren—Henri de Régniers Gedichtfolge;* Walterhausen, H. W., *Shakespeares Einfluss auf die Musik;* Linden, W., *Zum Aufbau des shakespearischen Erlebnisses;* Glasenap, Gregor, *Die Dämonologie in Sh.'s "Macbeth": Die Hexen;* Deetjen, W., *Der "Sturm" Operntext bearb. v. Einsiedeln u. Gotter;* Daffner, H., *Der Selbstmord bei Sh.;* Gundolf, E., *Zur Beurteilung der Darmstädter Shakespeare-Maske;* Richter, E., *Juan Timoneda u. d. Imo-*

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The article gives a history of the copy, which has been recently sold to a New York bookseller, and mentions the fact that the diary of the Rev. John Ward (1629-1681), Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, was to be offered for sale by the Medical Society of London in April (See also N & Q, Vol. 154, p. 55); June 28, 1928, p. 492, *Shakespeare and Garrick;* Aug. 2, 1928, p. 572, *Shakespeare Folios.*

Todd, O. J. *Who Wrote Shakespeare's Plays?* MLN, XLIII, 106-8.

Tolman, Albert H. *Falstaff and Other Shakespearean Topics.* New York, 1925.

Rev. by Clark S. Northup in MLN, XLIII, 278-80; see Bibl. 1928, p. 231.

Tyler, J. E. *A Point in the Geography of Shakespeare.* RES, IV, 209-11.

Suggestion that "The Pyrenean" (*King John*, I, ii, 203) refers to the Alps rather than to the Pyrenees.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Taming of a Shrew.* Engl. Studies, X, 97-106.

An argument that *The Taming of a Shrew* is a later version of *The Taming of the Shrew* and owes its ground work to that play.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Taming of the Shrew.* Engl. Studies, X, 161-77.

Attempts to refute the argument of Mr. J. Dover Wilson in his edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* that the play is a revision by Shakespeare of the work of some other dramatist (possibly Nashe), but agrees with Mr. Wilson that the Folio text was printed, not from Shakespeare's autograph, but from a transcript.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Text of Shakespeare's "Hamlet."* London, 1924.

Rev. by J. Hedbavny in Zs. f. französ. u. engl. Unterricht, XXVII, 467-9; see Bibl. 1927, p. 334.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Text of "The Merchant of Venice."* Neophilologus, XIII, 33-51.

Mainly textual in content, the author applying to the text of this play the group of metrical and typographical criteria employed by him in his study of the text of *Hamlet.* He takes issue with Mr. J. Dover Wilson on a number of points, particularly in regard to Mr. Wilson's argument in his edition of the play that the copy for the Folio printers was prepared by stringing together the actors' parts.

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Walpole, V. *The Plague in "Romeo and Juliet."* MLR, XXIII, 213-5.

Mr. Walpole considers the introduction of the plague into *Romeo and Juliet* intrusive, spoiling a real dramatic opportunity.

Ward, H. Gordon. *Du Bellay and Shakespeare.* N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 417.

Suggests that the Latin poem *Petronillae Puellae* by Du Bellay bears close resemblance to the Queen's words over the dead body of Ophelia in *Hamlet*, v, i, 267-9.

Wecter, Dixon. *The Purpose of "Timon of Athens."* PMLA, XLIII, 701-21.

Argues plausibly that Timon stands for Essex and Ventidius for Bacon, that the play was first written by Shakespeare and later altered by Middleton when the political allusions were found to be displeasing to persons in authority. One merely wonders at the number of political allusions that were left.

White, G. H. *An Early Performance of "Romeo et Juliette."* N & Q, Vol. 154, pp. 95-6.

Record of the performance in 1581 in Neufchatel-en-Bray of a play based on Bandello's story antedating Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet.*

Willoughby, E. E. *An Interruption in the Printing of the First Folio.* Library, N. S. IX, 262-6.

Willoughby, E. E. *A Note on the Relationship of the First and Second Quartos of "Hamlet."* Anglia, LII, 288.

Wilson, J. Dover. *Hamlet Q_1 and Mr. Henry David Gray.* PMLA, XLIII, 575-8.

A controversy over priority in the advancement of the idea that the actor who played the part of Marcellus was the "traitor-actor" who supplied copy to the publisher of the First Quarto of *Hamlet.* See Professor Gray's reply in the same journal, pp. 578-82, and Bibl. 1928, p. 217, under Gray, Henry David.

Wyrsch, Jakob. *Don Quijote und Hamlet.* Schweizerische Rdsch., XXVIII, 310-24.

Young, T. E. *An Emendation of Shakespeare's Text.* Nation & Ath, XLIII, 421.

Emendation of the seventh line, "Put out the light, and then put out the light." *Othello*, Act V, sc. 2.

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IV. Non Dramatic Works

Ault, Norman (ed.). *Seventeenth-Century Lyrics.* From the Original Texts. London: Longmans, 1928. Pp. xi, 524.

Rev. in LTS, Feb. 23, 1928, p. 126; by Christopher Morley in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 551; by C. J. S. in MLR, XXIII, 519; in Quarterly Rev., CCL, 423-4; in Saturday Rev., CXLV, 167-8; notice by J. C. S. in London Mercury, XVII, 466; in Nation, CXXVI, 495; see Book Rev. Digest.

Contains, aside from the familiar poems by Herrick, Carew, and others, thirty-three poems which seem never to have been printed before.

Bacon, Francis, Lord. *The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall of Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.* London: Cresset Press, 1928. Pp. 198.

Bacon, Francis, Lord. *Selections.* Ed. by M. T. McClure. New York: Scribner, 1928.

Baikie, James. *The English Bible and Its Story, Its Growth, Its Translators and their Adventures.* London: Seeley, Service, 1928. Pp. 318.

Notice in LTS, Nov. 29, 1928, p. 942; in Saturday Rev., CXLVI, 586.

Barclay, Alexander. *Eclogues.* From the original edition by J. Cawood. Ed. by B. White. Oxford Univ. Press, for E. E. T. S., 1928. Pp. 340.

Baxter, Richard. *The Saints' Everlasting Rest, or a Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints in their Enjoyment of God in Heaven, Written by the Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Richard Baxter.* London: Old Royalty Publishing Company, 1928. Pp. xviii, 241.

Beedome, Thomas. *Select Poems Divine and Humane.* Edited by Francis Meynell. London: Nonesuch Press, 1928.

Rev. in LTS, Oct. 18, 1928, p. 752.

Benham, Allen R. *A Note on Lyly's "Euphues."* PQ, VII, 201-2.

Björling, A. *Studies in the Grammar of the early printed English Bible Versions.* Lund Diss. Lund: Gleerup, 1928. Pp. 197.

Black, Matthew Wilson. *Richard Brathwait. An Account of his Life and Works.* Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1928.

Notice in LTS, Nov. 15, 1928, p. 860.

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Borchardt, G. *Schreibung, Aussprache und Formenbau im Tagebuch des Richard Cocks (1615-1622)*. Diss. Giessen, 1928. Pp. 30.

Bourchier, Sir John, Lord Berners. *Froissart's Cronycles*. Vol. I, parts iii and iv; Vol. II, parts i, ii, and iii. Oxford: Blackwell, 1928. Pp. 665-1022; 1033-1359; xxxii, 1-320; 331-685; 689-1019.

See letters in LTS as follows: by R. W. Chambers and T. W. Williams, Jan 5, 1928, p. 12; by Historicus, *Froissart and Otterburn*, July 26, 1928, p. 562; by W. E. Wilson, Aug. 23, 1928, p. 605; see Bibl. 1928, p. 233.

Bradner, Leicester. *Life and Poems of Richard Edwards*. Yale Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. by A. W. Reed in RES, IV, 445-7; by G. C. Moore Smith in MLR, XXIII, 66-70; by H. Lüdeke in Beiblatt, XXXIX, 227-8; see Bibl. 1928, p. 233.

Breton, Nicholas. *The Twelve Moneths*. Edited by Brian Rhys, with Wood Engravings by Eric Ravillious. Waltham St. Lawrence: Golden Cockerel Press, 1928. Pp. 25.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 22, 1928, p. 217.

Brie, Friedrich. *Die erste englische Novellensammlung (The Deceyte of Women)*. In *Stephaniskos* (Ernest Fabricius zum 6. 9. 1927), 5-10. Freiburg, 1927.

Brownbill, J. *Philip Sidney and Penelope Rich*. LTS, Sept. 30, 1928, p. 667.

Tends to discredit the supposition of any love affair between Sidney and Penelope Rich, the generally accepted Stella of the sonnets.

Browne, Sir Thomas. *The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Browne*. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes. London, 1927.

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Browne, Sir Thomas. *Sir Thomas Browne's Christian Morals*. Edited by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. in LTS, May 24, 1928, pp. 385-6; in Contemp. Rev., CXXXIII, 671-3; notice in Saturday Rev., CXLV, 19; see Bibl. 1928, p. 234.

Bush, Douglas. *The Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure*. JEGP, XXVII, 162-9.

An attempt to "summarize Pettie's sources and to discuss certain aspects of his technique."

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Campion, Thomas. *Selected Poems.* Edited by G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. The Ormond Poets. London: Noel Douglas, 1928. Pp. 61.

Cawley, Robert Ralston. *George Gascoigne and the Siege of Famagusta.* MLN, XLIII, 296-300.

Caxton, William. *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry.* Edited by Alfred T. P. Byles. Oxford Univ. Press, 1926.

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An attempt to remove doubt of More's authorship of the *History of Richard III.*

Chambers, R. W. *The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More.* Oxford Univ. Press, for the British Academy, 1927. Pp. 52.

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A chronological survey of the documents, with transcripts, bearing on Caxton's life.

Crotch, W. J. Blythe. *Caxton's Son-in-law.* Library, N. S. IX, 48-52.

See also note by Frank Marcham with rejoinders, *ibid.*, 325-6.

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Dermenghen, Émile. *Thomas Morus et les Utopistes de la Renaissance.* Paris: Plon, 1927.

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Donne, John. *Selected Shorter Poems.* The Ormond Poets. London: Noel Douglas, 1928. Pp. 62.

Doyle-Davidson, W. A. G. *John Fisher's English Sermons.* MLR, XXIII, 341-2.

Attention is called to two of Fisher's sermons which seem hitherto to have been overlooked.

Draper, John W. (ed.). *A Century of Broadside Elegies.* Being ninety English and ten Scotch broadsides illustrating the biography and manners of the seventeenth century. Photographically reproduced. London: Ingpen and Grant, 1928. Pp. xviii, 229.

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A bibliographical note on the deletion of three leaves in all the recorded editions.

Forman, W. Courthope. *Izaak Walton.* N & Q, Vol. 155, p. 465.

Information relative to Walton's connection with the Ironmongers' Company. Other correspondence is indicated in the article in N & Q.

Freeman, Edmund L. *Jeremy Collier and Francis Bacon.* PQ, VII, 17-26.

Shows substantial borrowings from Bacon's essays and many paraphrases in the essays of Jeremy Collier published in 1697, 1705, 1709.

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The article refers to Drayton's debt to Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Polyolbion.*

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Griffith, R. H. *A Lost "Boke of Balettes"* (*?1550-1600*). LTS, July 5, 1928, p. 504.

Two printed leaves used by the binder for end papers in a copy of the first edition of Robinson's translation of More's *Utopia* in the Miriam L. Stark Collection at the University of Texas afford fragments of lyric poetry, which Professor Griffith has in part identified as the work of Sir Thomas Wyatt; the rest is unidentified except by the running head: *Boke of Balettes.* See letter by E. M. W. Tillyard in LTS, July 12, 1928, p. 520.

Gruber, L. Franklin. *The First English New Testament and Luther.* The Actual Extent to which Tyndale was Dependent upon Luther as a Translator. Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1928. Pp. 126.

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Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any time within the Compass of these 1600 years.* By Richard Hakluyt. Introduction by John Masefield. Illustrations by T. Derrick. Ten vols. London: Dent, 1928.

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V. SPENSER

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Miss Albright dates the Mutability cantos in 1579-1580, and suggests that they were originally intended as part of a book in the *Faerie Queene*, the theme of which was probably to have been English affairs in Ireland. She offers evidence that Spenser rejected this early version because of the criticism of Harvey and a circle of Cambridge friends, but points out that Spenser preserved a good share of the matter of the Mutability cantos in his published works.

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VIII. Continental Influences

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXVI JULY, 1929 Number 3

COLERIDGE AND "ASRA"

By Thomas M. Raysor

The unhappy love of the unhappiest of great poets, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, has never been known except to a few students. The clues are contained in Coleridge's poems to "Asra"; and the general reader, whose experience would scarcely lead him to expect a romance in annotations, might well be excused for thinking that the Sara whose name is thinly veiled in Coleridge's anagram, was his wife. Even the scholar, who has conscientiously read all footnotes and learned that "Asra" was Sarah Hutchinson, the sister of Mrs. Wordsworth, has learned little more. Poetic idealization of emotion might account for so much of Coleridge's confession of love that the story has remained doubtful even in fact, and entirely undetermined in detail, though it is of supreme importance in Coleridge's poetry and life for ten years. Surely, one thinks, it must have taken its due place in the biography on which the poet's grandson, Ernest Hartley Coleridge, labored throughout his life; but other obligations prevented the completion of that great task, and the tale remains untold, buried in the chaos of Coleridge's diaries and notebooks.[1] These were his only confidants; and to them he poured forth his passion without restraint, with a poet's depth of feeling and power of self-expression.

For ten years at least, the first decade of the nineteenth cen-

[1] This account is derived from Ernest Hartley Coleridge's transcripts of the notebooks, and has afterwards been checked against the notebooks themselves, except for one passage indicated in the footnotes. The transcripts and the original notebooks are in the possession of two private families in England, but the series of original notebooks is not entirely complete.

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tury, Coleridge's love for Sarah Hutchinson was the center of his personal life. Even at the beginning of that period he was estranged from his wife, whose differences with her husband were originally founded on incompatibility of temperament and were later increased by Coleridge's weakness of will and by the opium habit to which he became a victim in 1800 or 1801. The long absences from home which Coleridge soon made a habit developed into an informal and intermittent, but permanent and conscious separation between husband and wife, which may for all practical purposes be dated from 1804, when Coleridge departed for Malta. Enough is known about his rupture with his wife to prove that its causes were latent at the very beginning of his marriage, that they had partly developed before he had met Sarah Hutchinson, and that they later developed quite independently of his unfortunate love-affair. His love-affair must have greatly increased his differences with Mrs. Coleridge and been an obstacle to reconciliation; but it was not the cause of his marital unhappiness. That unhappiness was rather the excuse which he gave to himself for his love, and the excuse will be partly accepted even by the strictest judges. Coleridge's confessions of his love have a moral restraint and even elevation which are their own best defence; and their mournfully or passionately rhythmical prose is so completely worthy of the mind of a poet that it may be published, not as a blot upon the greatness of his genius, but as one of its most authentic revelations.

The story told in the notebooks is the story of Coleridge's feelings, and leaves the external facts of his love-affair mysterious and vague, only to be supplied by inference, or by crumbs of information derived from other sources—from his letters, from the letters of friends, or from Dorothy Wordsworth's Journal. We know very little, for instance, of Coleridge's first meeting with Sarah Hutchinson save the date, October 26, 1799. Wordsworth was at that time at Sockburn, visiting his future wife, Mary Hutchinson, and Coleridge was called north from Stowey by reports of his friend's ill-health. When he arrived, he found that there was no cause for anxiety, and the two poets set out together on the very next day for a trip to the Lake District, accompanied for several days by John Wordsworth, and then alone. But the first meeting with Sarah Hutchinson, however brief, did not pass without a memorial in Coleridge's notebook. "Few moments in life," wrote Coleridge,

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"[are] so interesting as those of our affectionate reception from a stranger who is the dear friend of your dear friend! How often you have been the subject of consideration, how affectionately!"[2] . . . Thus began the characteristic psychological analyses which were to continue through eleven years of notes in Coleridge's diaries. Through them we may read the history of his own emotions told by a man who was by temperament an introspective psychologist of genius.

During the trip to the Lakes, Wordsworth had found the house for which he was searching, a house humble enough for a poet's purse and suited to the most exacting taste in natural scenery of which literature has record. He allowed Coleridge to return to Sockburn a few days before him;[3] and Coleridge must have spent nearly a week with the Hutchinsons before he returned to London for a half-year of hard and successful journeyman labor as translator of *Wallenstein* and editorial writer of the *Morning Post*.

Coleridge was an expansive and eloquent talker, who made friends easily and rapidly; and the acquaintance with Sarah Hutchinson soon took on the aspect of a flirtation, if one may judge by the entry in the notebook for Sunday, November 24: "Conundrums and puns, and stories and laughter with Jack Hutchinson. Stood up round the fire, et Sara manum a tergo longum in tempus prensatam and [?] tunc temporis, tunc primum amor me levi spiculo, venenato eheu et insanabili—" ("And pressed Sara's hand behind her back a long time; and then Love first [wounded] me with a light arrow-point, poisoned alas, and incurable.")

Taken alone, the mischievous impropriety recorded in this note might interest the biographer only for its savour of humanity; but the next record belongs to the student of literature by a more serious and obviously legitimate reason, for this seems to be the delicate and tender poem called "Love:"

> All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
> Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
> All are but ministers of Love
> And feed his sacred flame.

The poem was first published in the *Morning Post* for December

[2] Cf. *Anima Poetae*, London, 1895, p. 8.
[3] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, III, 445.

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21, 1799, and was almost certainly written either at Sockburn, or in commemoration of the visit there. "The statue of the armèd knight" of the poem, and the "grey stone rudely carv'd" of the first draft, seem to be monuments at Sockburn, which preserve the memory of a hero who slew a monstrous wyverne or "worme." This was pointed out by Ernest Hartley Coleridge in an annotation on the poem.[4]

In an unpublished manuscript note, he observed another and still more significant clue to the associations of the poem, the Latin motto from Petrarch[5] which Coleridge prefixed to the poem when he re-published it in *Sibylline Leaves* in 1817:

> Quas humilis tenero stylus olim effudit in aevo,
> Perlegis hic lacrymas, et quod pharetratus acuta
> Ille puer puero fecit mihi cuspide vulnus.
> Omnia paulatim consumit longior aetas,
> Vivendoque simul morimur, rapimurque manendo.
> Ipse mihi collatus enim non ille videbor:
> Frons alia est, moresque alii, nova mentis imago,
> Voxque aliud sonat—
> Pectore nunc gelido calidos miseremur amantes,
> Jamque arsisse pudet. Veteres tranquilla tumultus
> Mens horret, relegensque alium putat ista locutum.

(You read here of the woes which a humble pen once poured forth in youth, and the wound which that quiver-carrying boy gave to me, a boy, with the keen point [of his arrow]. Longer life gradually wears away all things, and in living, at the same time we die, and while we linger we are snatched away. For compared with myself, I do not seem to be the same; the brow is different; the manner is otherwise; there is a new kind of mind; the voice sounds different. Now with cold breast we pity fiery lovers, now we are ashamed of our flames. The tranquil mind shudders at its remembered tumult, and re-reading those things thinks that some one else had said them.)

Ernest Hartley Coleridge regarded this as an apology to the Wordsworths, who knew the subject of the poem. As we shall see, they had regarded Coleridge's attachment to Sarah Hutchinson with natural suspicion and alarm, and the re-publication of the poem would have reopened old sores but for Coleridge's disavowal of its personal application.

[4] *Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Oxford, 1912, p. 331.

[5] *Opera* (Basileae, 1554), f. 1330, *Epistolarum*, Liber I, "Barbato Sulmonensi."

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If this interpretation is correct, as I believe, the Wordsworths must have looked back upon Coleridge's early affection for Sarah Hutchinson in the light of later events, for there was at first little or no opportunity for the growth of the attachment, much less for it to attract the attention of others. Apparently a year passed before Coleridge even saw Sarah again. Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal* shows that Sarah was visiting at Grasmere from November 18, 1800, till at least the middle of December,[6] and also shows that Coleridge came over the Raise from his home at Keswick several times during this visit. Wordsworth was not yet married to Sarah's sister, and it is unlikely that Sarah's visits to Dorothy would at this time be either frequent or prolonged, though after 1802, when Wordsworth and Mary Hutchinson were married, Sarah frequently visited her sister and lived with her almost constantly from 1805 to 1810. Perhaps Coleridge did not again see her till he visited Durham next summer, when he stayed with George Hutchinson, a brother for whom Sarah was then keeping house. He writes twice to Southey during this visit, first on July 25 from Durham, and next on August 1 from Scarborough, where he had ridden with Sarah to visit her brother Tom, with whom he was to remain at least another week—for sea-bathing, he says.[7]

By this time Coleridge's relation with Sarah must have been much closer, but one can only guess at the meaning of these visits. For the moment, Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal* is the only means of guidance, fragmentary though it is. On December 4, 1801, she mentions a letter from Coleridge and Sarah together, implying apparently a correspondence between them in which a letter might, as in this case, be sent on to the Wordsworths with additions. On April 21, 1802, the *Journal* contributes an item of the most extreme interest, when Dorothy speaks of Coleridge's repeating "the verses he wrote to Sara. I was affected with them, and in miserable spirits." The date corresponds with the known date of one of Coleridge's greatest poems, "Dejection: an Ode," which Coleridge himself dated April 4, 1802; and the subject-matter of the poem would surely have made Dorothy miserable, and for more than one reason. No other poem of Coleridge's fits either in date or subject-matter. This was pointed out by Professor William

[6] Here Part III of Dorothy's *Journal* comes to an end.
[7] *Letters*, I, 359-64.

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Knight in a footnote on this passage in Dorothy's *Journal*,[8] but his suggestion has not been favoured, because the first draft of the poem, if it is the first draft, is not only addressed to Wordsworth, but definitely refers to him in the text. This problem may, or may not, be settled by further research; for the present I wish merely to suggest the possibility that Professor Knight's conjecture may fit the known facts. The supposed first draft may in reality be a second draft, developing the poem and adapting it to a different purpose in order to conceal its original application. At first thought, the poem seems naturally addressed only to Wordsworth, but Coleridge's thwarted love for Sarah would give it an origin equally probable.

Dorothy's *Journal* yields a few more items for this year, referring on April 23 to a letter which Coleridge had received from Sarah, on May 6 to verses to Sarah by Coleridge, and on December 7 and December 8 to Sarah's presence at Penrith and Keswick, respectively, apparently on her way to Grasmere. On January 7, at least, she was returning from a visit to Grasmere. Before this visit, Coleridge had spent the day with her at Penrith on November 4. But this bare item in his notebooks stands alone till suddenly this entry appears, undated, but apparently belonging to the autumn of 1803: "If I have not heard from you very recently," he writes, "and if the last letter had not happened to be full of explicit love and feeling, then I conjure up shadows into substances—and am miserable." Here then at last is definite information of the terms on which he corresponded with Sarah, and evidence of their acknowledged love.

There is nothing to be gained by speculation in regard to the meetings of the two during 1803. Coleridge was at home at Keswick in January, from (approximately) May to August, from September to December, but I know almost nothing of Sarah's movements. By the end of the year, Coleridge was making plans to seek a warmer climate, where he might avoid the rains of the Lake District, which were injurious to his health. Accordingly he left for London on December 20, 1803, but stopped at Dove Cottage on the way. While there he fell ill, and was nursed by the Wordsworths and Sara for over three weeks before he could pro-

[8] *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, 1897, I, 110.

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ceed to London. He remained in London until he sailed for Malta on April 9, 1804. His enforced absence from Sara and his isolation during the voyage drove him to his notebooks, which may speak for themselves:

April 17, 1804.

Long years of seriousness, of deep passion, awful incidents, seas traversed, and the famous things of the world seen, and all connected with one abiding hope, one thought, one love. This will surely give a delicacy, an awe, a fear of saying or doing *light* or *coarse* things in her presence—and lengthen out the passion by still combining it with a past feeling.

April 19 (?), 1804.

Soother of absence! O that I had the language of music, the power of infinitely varying the expression, (and in developing it even as it is). My heart plays an incessant music for which I need an outward interpreter—words, still over and over again—and each time I feel differently, tho' children of one family.

What [ever] change of place, country, climate, company, situation, health and spirits, flowers, trees, moving seasons, ever is that one feeling at my heart—felt like a faint pain, a spot which it seems I could lay my finger on. I talk loud or eager, or I read or meditate the abstrusest research, or I laugh, jest, tell tales of mirth, and ever as it were within and behind, I think and image *you,* and while I am talking of government or war, or chemistry, there comes ever into my bodily eye some tree beneath which we have rested, some rock where we have stood on the projecting road edging high above the Crumnock Lake, where we sate beneath the Rock, and those dear lips pressed my forehead—or that Scale Force in its pride as we saw it when they laughed at us for two lovers.

Sunday, May 6.

One remarkable affecting dream in which I saw Sara, and the whole perfectly dramatic. How comes it, I so very rarely see those I love. I scarcely realise the time when I *saw* Wordsworth or Dorothy, or the children, and very seldom Mrs. C. Yet I often dream *of* them.

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May 13.

> I have been trying to read Wordsworth's Poem on the Formation of his Mind, but I have not been able to deliver myself up to it. O bless you, all you, Mary, William, the babe, Dorothy, Sara, and my little ones—and good Southey—and thee, O the mother of my children—tho' we have lived in bitterness.[9]

The next notes are from the autumn of 1806, when Coleridge had returned from Malta in worse health and more thoroughly under the dominion of opium than when he set out:

> O Elpisomene! when shall I have to write a letter to you with no other sorrow to communicate than that absence from you which writing itself implies. Friday, Nov. 28, 1806.
>
> I know you love me. My reason knows it! my heart feels it. Yet still let your eyes, your hands tell me—still say, O often and often say "My beloved! I love you—indeed I love you"; for why should not my ears, and all my outward being share in the joy—the fuller my inner being is of the sense, the more my outward organs yearn and crave for it. O bring my whole nature into balance and harmony.
>
> As when the taper's white cone of flame is seen double, till the eye moving brings them into one space and they become one—so did the Idea in my imagination coadunate with your present form, soon after I first gazed on you with love.[10]

Coleridge saw the Wordsworth family early in November, 1806,[11] on their way to Coleorton, but did not see them again till he joined them at Coleorton on December 21. From then on, he was almost constantly in Sarah's company till May,[12] for on leaving Coleorton in February Coleridge and the Wordsworths went to London, and again lived together at Basil Montagu's house. This complete domestication of Coleridge in the Wordsworth family had its dis-

[9] The two preceding notes are interesting evidence that Coleridge's references to Sara do not mean "Mrs. C."

[10] Cf. *Anima Poetae*, p. 172.

[11] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, I, 249-52. If one may judge by the week-days referred to, the dates are Nov. 2-5.

[12] *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, II, 511, note.

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advantages as well as its advantages, for Coleridge's notes of 1807 show clearly that the Wordsworths had taken alarm, as well they might. It is also evident that Coleridge was jealous of Sarah's admiration and affection for Wordsworth. One may wonder whether she did not attempt to spur his crippled will by holding up Wordsworth as an example to him, as Mrs. Coleridge had cited Southey for his emulation.

Sarah Hutchinson was evidently hesitating in her love, realizing how impossible was her situation. Doubtless she had been overwhelmed at first by the brilliant genius which always flamed steadily in Coleridge's conversation, even in periods when his literary powers were utterly barren. No one else ever had her opportunities to see the delicacy of imagination, the tenderness and depth of feeling of which Coleridge's poems are memorials for ever. If we pity him for his unhappiness in marriage, for the rich glory of his genius enslaved by opium, so must she also have pitied him, more keenly, more personally, with an agony of sympathy which we shall never feel. Her love and pity are easy enough to understand. But so likewise can one understand that such a situation could not continue without disaster. Though Wordsworth's own young manhood had given him good cause for repentance, he was not now the man to sympathize with an irregular love-affair, no matter how Platonic; and, indeed, no sensible man could fail to see the hopelessness and sadness of such a love as Coleridge's. And above all other considerations, Sarah Hutchinson must have felt those which separated Coleridge from his wife more irreparably than even his love-affair, which exhausted the patience of some of his most loyal friends, which destroyed his character, his career, his happiness, and his peace of mind. Coleridge's unsteadiness of purpose and his paralysis in the grip of opium might inspire an agony of pity in one who reverenced his genius and loved his true and natural personality, but such pity is not that which is near akin to love. And no matter how tender her pity, she could scarcely conceal from Coleridge that her love was weakening. His confessions to his notebooks show clearly his anxiety:

> It is not the W.'s knowledge of my frailties that prevents my *entire* love of them. No! it is their ignorance of the deep place of my being—and O the cruel, cruel, misconception

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of that which is purest in me, which alone is indeed pure—my love of ασρα [Asra] . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Every thing that has been known or deemed fit to win woman's love, I have an impulse to make myself, even tho' I should otherwise look down upon it. I cannot endure not to be strong in arms, a daring soldier—yet I know I have no fear of life, or dread of pain, and that I am not that because I cannot respect it. Again I must be the high intellect that despises it, and both at once. I must be a graceful and bold horseman, I must sing and play on the harp; I must be beautiful instead of what I am, and yet she must love me for what I now am, even for myself, and my exceeding love. . . . I want, I yearn to make her love of me delightful to her own mind—I want to be everything good, and that good wearing every attraction, which even evil has more often around it; and why? because she is all my vanity, and all my virtue. Loving *her*, I intensely desire all that could make the greatest and (be it viceless) the weak, if they be amiable, love *me*. I am so feeble that I cannot yearn to be perfect, unrewarded by some distinct goal, yet still somewhat too noble to be satisfied, [not;] or even pleased, by the assent of the many. Myself will not suffice, and a stranger is nothing. It must be one who is, and who is not myself. . . .

O! what mad nonsense all this would sound to all but myself, and perhaps even she would despise me for it,—no, not despise, but be alarmed, and learn from W. to pity and withdraw herself from my affections. Whither? O agony! O the vision of that Saturday morning. . . . O cruel! is he not beloved, adored by two—and two such beings, and must I not be beloved *near* him except as a satellite. But O mercy! mercy! is he not better, greater, more *manly*, and altogether more attractive to any the purest woman. And yet, and yet methinks, love so intense might demand love. Otherwise who could be secure? Who could know that his beloved might not meet his superiors? W. is greater, better, manlier, more dear by nature to woman than I—miserable I: but does he, O no! no! no! no! he does not,—he does not pretend, he does not wish to love you, as I love you . . . [?]! he does not love, he

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would not love, it is not the voice, not the duty of *his* nature to love *any* being as I love you. No! he is to be beloved—but yet, tho' you may feel that *if* he loved you, tho' only, even *partly* as *I* love you, you should inevitably love him, love him to a degree, in which you *cannot* love *me,* yet still he does not *so* love you, no, not in the kind, much less degree. I alone love you so devotedly, and therefore love me! love me.

Awakened from a dream of tears, and anguish of involuntary jealousy, ½ past 2. Sept. 13, 1807. N. Stowey.

Unhappy I—I have loved many more than ever I loved myself, and one beyond myself and beyond all things, and all persons, but never, never, have I met with any being who did not love many better than they loved me. Several women that would have married me because no one whom they better loved was in their power; but never any one who would have married me, because they loved *me* better than any one. This seems the complaint of selfishness: yet it is, in truth, the pang most felt by such as have least selfishness and most constancy of nature, such as would revolt from the very thought, that they could cease to love, or love less A., to whom they had given their love, because they had found in B. or C. greater beauty or wit. O mercy! O mercy! In the anger of agony I could almost bid ,κθy ["Asra," in cipher] look at herself and into herself and then ask whether *she,* beloved constantly, has a right to compare others with me and love them better because they are more vigorous or more this thing or the other! Love *more?* O blasphemy! as if in the love I am speaking of there were any *degrees,* as if more than *one* COULD in this sense be LOVED.

We have in these passages clear evidence of ill-feeling between Wordsworth and Coleridge three years before the rupture in 1810. But their differences were soon made up, for Wordsworth came to Coleridge's aid in London when he was breaking down under the responsibility of his lectures in the spring of 1808; and in September Coleridge was again domesticated with the Wordsworths at Allan Bank, this time to remain for the better part of two years, until some uncertain time in the spring of 1810. This was the period of *The Friend,* which was largely made possible by Sarah's

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devotion to Coleridge's best interests, for she took most of *The Friend* to dictation and persecuted Coleridge constantly to keep him at his task.[13] Her kindness did not waver like her love, which seems at some times to have filled Coleridge with confidence, and sometimes with anxiety and doubt. The notes of this period begin anxiously, pass into unconscious comedy, and then end in one of the noblest of Coleridge's lyrical outbursts:

> You never sate near me ten minutes in your life without showing a restlessness and a thought of going, etc., for at least five minutes out of the ten.
>
> Some things incomprehensible to me in Sara's feelings concerning [me] and her evidently greater pleasure in gazing on . . . [cipher], supposing a real preference of love to me. But how much her love is pity, humane dread of inflicting anguish? Dignified sense of consistency and faith? Perchance I love enough for both.

22 Oct. 1808.

> Astonishing effect of an unbecoming cap on Sara H.—in the strictest sense of the word frightened me and even continues to do so—in a less degree, producing a painful *startle.* Whenever she turned her head suddenly round on me or I mine, and when I force myself to remain looking a while, the effect is perhaps yet more unpleasant, for then it has the distressing character of one of those dreams . . . in which all the features, stature, etc., all being altered, the person is still known—and familiar. It is really quite shocking. I am conscious that I have said a great deal too much in the presence of others: I ought to have taken no notice of it *noticeably,* but alone, to have tried to convince Sara how very much I really most unaffectedly and involuntarily suffer. If she believed one tenth part of what is the fact, she would not play these tricks with her angel countenance. It is not, cannot be, other than morally culpable, for to notice only bad results among many, it distracts the memory and in it the associations. It would make the subject of a very affecting poem, which might take even an elevated character. Gracious Heaven! when I call to mind the heavenly vision of her face

[13] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family,* I, 491, 495.

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which came to me as the Guardian Angel of my innocence and peace of mind at Syracuse, at the bedside of the too fascinating Siren against whose witcheries Ulysses's wax would have proved but a half-protection—poor Cecilia Bertozzoli! Yet neither her beauty, with all her power of employing it, neither heavenly song, were as dangerous as her sincere vehemence of attachment to me—vehemence, for I trust it was not depth, and *attachment,* for it was not mere *passion,* and yet, Heaven forbid that I should call it *love.* But despondent, spiritless, uncertain of the state of yκθ + κ ';ρθλ ["Asra's heart"] and the outworks of my nature already carried by the sweetness of her temper, the childish simplicity of her smiles, and the very great relief to my depression and to the deathy weighing-down of my heart—from her singing and playing so that I had begun to crave after her society—I tremble to think what I was at that moment on the very brink of being surprised into by the prejudices of the shame of sex as much as by the force of its ordinary impulses. And I was saved by that vision, wholly and exclusively by it, and sure I am that nothing on earth but it could at that time have saved me. I may well say saved, for earth could not have contained a more utter wretch than myself. Remorse and the total loss of self-esteem would have been among the strongest knots of the *cords* by which I should have been held! For O! the incalculable importance to the self-dissatisfied spirit to have some one spot of cloudless and fixed sunshine in the memory of conscience. One other thought, which tho' only anticipated as probable, does yet impress me almost as seriously as the actual event just referred to. What if on my death-bed her face, which had hovered before me as my soothing and beckoning seraph, should all at once flash into that new face, rendered of yet more affrightful expression by the action of the painful feelings produced by it—thence associated with it, thence returning with it in the same trance of recollection and of course modifying it. This told in the third person and as *part* of the life and feelings of . . . [cipher] in the "Soother of Absence."

Some philosophers have affirmed, that two bodies may be supposed to fill one space, each the whole, without a contradiction in reason. Whether this be true of matter I am as

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ignorant as whether matter has a being at all; but in the things of soul and spirit I am sure it is true. For love, passionate in its deepest tranquillity, love unutterable, fills my whole spirit—so that every fibre of my heart, nay, of my whole frame, seems to tremble under its perpetual touch and sweet pressure, like the string of a lute—with a sense of vibrating pain, distinct from all other sensations, a pain that seems to shiver and tremble on the threshold of some joy that cannot be entered into while I am embodied—a pain of yearning which all the pleasure on earth could not induce me to relinquish, even were it in my power; and yet it *is* a pain, an aching, that spreads even into the eyes, that have a look as if they were asking a what and a where even of vacancy—yea, even when the Beloved is present seeming to look thro' her and asking for her very self within or even beyond her apparent form.

And yet full as my being is of this love a sense of gratitude seems to penetrate and permeate that omnipresent affection! O well may I be grateful! She loves me—*me*, who—O noble dear generous, ,κθy [Asra]! Herein my love, which in *degree* cannot be surpassed, is yet in *kind* inferior to yours.—9 Sept. 1808.

The mood of this last noble and quietly happy passage persists in the next two notes, of which the first was written on the way to London with Basil Montagu, and the second either at the same time or immediately after arriving:

October 22–26, 1810.

And do they tell me there is no such thing as true *love*, as a thing of itself? that it is only a domino of lust? O why then in my noblest, purest hours, when I wander by the wharf at Bolton—why, when I suddenly obtain a clear view of some new truth, why, when I have conquered temptation and performed an arduous duty—why, whenever from nature in her terrors and in her fascinations, or from art in her perfections, or from science in her awfullest revelations, or from virtue in the full charm of disinterestedness, I am raised, ennobled, purified—why, I say why, when I am best and most worthy, most incapable of guilt or folly—do I then feel the yearning, this intense love? this certain sense of—oh! this is but to

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know what Heaven is, were Sara here, even the adored here, enjoying it with me, then, then, it would be Heaven possessed!

Shortly after *Oct. 24, 1810.*

My love of ϰθy [Asra] is not so much in my soul, as my soul in it. It is my whole being wrapt into one desire, all the hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, all the powers, vigor, and faculties of my spirit abridged into one perpetual inclination. To bid me not love you were to bid me annihilate myself, for to love you is all I know of my life as far as my life is an object of my consciousness or my free will. God is our being, but thro' his works alone doth he reveal himself—and that for which all other objects have a vital meaning, possess either force or attraction, are desired or avoided—that of which all other objects are a copious language of epithets and synonyms—that is God appearing to me, in that he reveals himself, and in that I love and adore him. I hold it, therefore, neither impiety on the one hand nor superstition on the other that you are the God within me, even as the best and most religious men have called their conscience the God within them. But you, tho' existing to my senses, have ever abode within me. You have been, and you alone have been my conscience—in what form, with what voice, under what modifications, can I imagine God to work upon me, in which *you* have not worked? All evil has kept aloof—you have worked ceaselessly, everywhere, at all times, and the sum of all your influence and benignant grace has been horror of whatever is base, shame and compunction for whatever is weak and unworthy, fervent aspirations after good and great honourable and beautiful things, and the unconquerable necessity of making myself worthy of being happy as the one indispensable condition of possessing the one only happiness—your love, your esteem, and ***you.***

But the storm was about to break. Evidently Sarah Hutchinson was able to leave Coleridge without a rupture, though her departure for Wales spelled the ruin of *The Friend.* But a letter of Dorothy Wordsworth [14] of April 12 (?), 1810, betrays the extreme

[14] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family,* I, 495-6. The remainder of the letter is even more bitter towards Coleridge, though Dorothy was usually kindness itself.

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ill-feeling which had been aroused, not only by Coleridge's weakness of will and his unfortunate habits, but also, one may be sure, by his indefensible love:

> . . . I need not tell you how sadly we miss Sara, but I must add the truth that we are all glad she is gone. True it is she was the cause of the continuance of *The Friend* so long; but I am far from believing that it would have gone on if she had stayed. He was tired, and she had at last no power to drive him on; and now I really believe that *he* also is glad that she is not here, because he has nobody to seize him. His spirits have certainly been more equable, and much better. *Our* gladness proceeds from a different cause. He harassed and agitated her mind continually, and we saw that he was doing her health perpetual injury. I tell you this, that you may no longer lament her departure. As to Coleridge, if I thought I should distress you, I would say nothing about him; but I hope that you are sufficiently prepared for the worst. We have no hope of him. None that he will ever do anything more than he has already done. . . .

Perhaps Wordsworth himself betrayed an exasperation like Dorothy's in the unfavourable remarks upon Coleridge's personal habits which he made in confidence to Basil Montagu. Perhaps he merely wished to warn Montagu against accepting Coleridge as a house-guest, for Coleridge's sake as well as for Montagu's. In any case Montagu tattled three days after reaching London on October 26, and not only quoted Wordsworth, but exaggerated his remarks, and even declared that Wordsworth had authorized him to say all this to Coleridge. "Coleridge has been a nuisance in my family," he said, according to Montagu's false testimony.[15] To Coleridge, Wordsworth's family meant Sarah Hutchinson above all others, and the remaining entries in his notebooks which deal with Sarah Hutchinson are laments for her unfaithfulness and for his own unhappiness in friendship and love:

> O ΣΑΡΑ! ΣΑΡΑ! [Sara] what have you done in *deceiving* him who for *10* years did so love you as never woman was

[15] *Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, etc.*, ed. E. J. Morley, Manchester, 1922, p. 148.

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beloved! in body, in soul, in brain, in heart, in hope, in fear, in prospect, in retrospect! Not he alone in the vulgar meaning of *he,* but every living atom that composed him was wedded and faithful to you. Every single thought, every image, every perception was no sooner itself than it became *you* by some wish that you saw it and felt it or had—or by some recollection that it suggested—some way or other it always became a symbol of *you.* I played with them as with *your shadow,* Shakespeare has so profoundly expressed it in his Sonnet.[16]

Saturday, *Nov. 3, 1810.* Hudson's Hotel, Covent Garden.

There are two things essentially different, which yet it has been my lot thro' all my life—at least for five and twenty years out of forty—to confound. The first is, to be beloved by a person: the second, a person's being highly pleased with being loved and admired by me.

Of the latter, with all the shows and all the realities of kindness and practical friendship that precede and accompany it, I have enjoyed many instances—few men more. Of the former I dare not flatter myself with any one. Even one, one single friend, would have set me at ease, and have made me satisfied with a score of acquaintances, from those intimacies which are the *analoga* of friends and which we can call by that name without any rebuke of conscience or inward sense of insincerity down to the mere "How do you do? I am glad to see you"—the man whom we have no cause to dislike, and for whom time and coincidences have made us feel a certain degree of tenderness, and the hilarity of honest well-wishing.

One human being, *entirely* loving me (this, of course, must have been a woman) would not only have satisfied all my hopes, but would have rendered me happy and grateful even tho' I had had no friend on earth, herself excepted.

In short, a *Wife,* in the purest, holiest sense of the word—yea, even tho' Fate or Fortune should have forbidden the outward and sensible sacrament of our union, and have denied us to be, or to have the chance of becoming the parents of the same children—this one blessing, this single blessedness would

[16] Sonnet XCVIII.

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of itself have prevented me from wishing anything more—but if one friend were added, any further wish would—I am certain, it would be impossible to me.

Now for fourteen years of my life, and those fourteen the very life of my life—and thro' a strange variety of states, situations, and circumstances, I am conscious to myself of having felt the most consummate friendship, in deed, word, and thought inviolate, for a man whose welfare never ceased to be far dearer to me than my own, and for whose fame I have been enthusiastically watchful, even at the price of alienating the affections of my benefactors,—and this during years, in which I stood single in my reverential admiration, and while for my own literary reputation I felt but a languid, at all events, a very desultory interest. I often warmed with indignation indeed, but never regretted, or made the least merit of it to my own heart, that I passed among those, who were most disposed to think highly of me, for a deluded fanatic on account of my firmness in maintaining and my vehemence and enthusiasm in displaying the moral and intellectual superiority of my friend.

Likewise for ten years, in health and in sickness, in joy and in sorrow, in presence and absence, ἄνευ πάθει [πάθους?] ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ἐν δεινότητι τοῦ παθους ἐπιθυμετικοῦ, [with and without the intensity of desire] in hope and in despondency, looking forward upon life, and down into the grave (on the brink of which I am now probably tottering), I have *loved* so as I should feel no shame to describe to an angel, and as my experience makes me suspect, to an angel alone would be intelligible.

A friend and a lover, therefore, are not impossible or superhuman things. Yet, what many circumstances ought to have let me see long ago, the events of the last year, and emphatically of the last month, have now forced me to perceive—no one on earth has ever LOVED me.

Doubtless, the fault must have been partly, perhaps chiefly in myself. The want of reliability in little things, the infliction of little pains, the trifling with hope, in short, all that render the idea of any person recall more pain than pleasures—these would account for the loss of friendship. But that I never possessed it in reality, but only that semblance of friend-

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ship, the being pleased with my admiration and attachment—this I believe owing in part to my voluntary self-humiliation, my habitual abasement of myself and talents in comparison with the merits of my friend. For alas! even in love and friendship we gain only what we arrogate.

And to this cause too, to the not asserting and maintaining a greater equality of character, I attribute ——'s wavering and lukewarmness. For woman is proud, and prefers those who are preferred by those around them. . . .[17]

Thus ends the story. By April, 1812, the rupture with Wordsworth was healed through the kind offices of Henry Crabb Robinson, healed at least on the surface; but distrust of Wordsworth's friendship still lingered in the back of Coleridge's mind. And for Sarah there was no forgiveness. There seems to be no reason to involve her in the quarrel, but Coleridge writes bitterly and mysteriously of "the too, too evident, the undeniable *joining* in the conspiracy with M. and Δ. to deceive me, and her *cruel neglect* and *contemptuous silence* ever since." Apparently Sarah did not wish to be forgiven for whatever blame she may have incurred; and, indeed, we can only wonder that she had remained loyal in her love for so long.

Coleridge's notebooks became silent after this, though the old pain broke forth once more in a letter to Allsop[18] in 1822, when a new pain turned Coleridge's mind sadly back to the past. After his last visit to Keswick and Penrith in the spring of 1812, the Lake District knew him no more; and Sarah Hutchinson did not frequently visit London. Many things must go unexplained, but at least we may congratulate ourselves on the preservation in the notebooks of Coleridge's most passionate prose, of fragments which are as literature even more valuable than as records of Coleridge's life and personality. They are the key to most of Coleridge's poetry between 1802 and 1810. Even if one sets aside poems like "Love" and "Dejection" there are many other lesser fragments which repeat in turn the feeling of those two noble poems. They deserve more attention than they have ever received, for Coleridge's spir-

[17] Transcript by E. H. Coleridge. This important notebook has escaped my search.

[18] *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge*, ed. by Thomas Allsop, London, 1858, pp. 199-200.

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itualized, reverent, and grateful love for Sarah Hutchinson was expressed in poems which would make the reputation of a lesser poet.[19] Their delicate radiance is hidden not in darkness, but in the splendour of light from "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan" and "Christabel."

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[19] The following poems may be listed as probably inspired wholly or in part by "Asra." The references are to Ernest Hartley Coleridge's edition of the *Poems*, London, 1912: p. 330, "Love" (1799); p. 361, "To Asra" (1801); p. 362, "Love's Sanctuary" (1801?); p. 362, "Dejection" (1802); p. 369, "The Picture" (1802); p. 385, "A Day Dream" (1802); p. 386, "Answer to a Child's Question" (1802); p. 386, "The Day Dream" (1801-02?); p. 388, "The Happy Husband" (1802?); p. 393, "Phantom" (1805); p. 395, "The Blossoming of the Solitary Date-Tree" (1805); p. 397, "Separation" (1805?); p. 402, "Farewell to Love" (1806); p. 409, "Recollections of Love" (1807?); p. 416, "The Visionary Hope" (1810?).

In addition to these fifteen poems, there are eight very interesting fragments (pp. 999-1010) numbered in the Oxford edition as follows: 11, 15, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, and 52.

I have not mentioned "Second Birth," because it is Cartwright's, not Coleridge's; and I have not listed "To Two Sisters," though in refers to Sarah Hutchinson and Mrs. Wordsworth, because it is addressed to Mrs. Morgan and her sister. Three of the poems refer specifically to "Asra" and one to "Sara." These references to Sarah Hutchinson were frankly explained by E. H. Coleridge in his notes to the poems.

The omitted passages in this article, which are indicated by asterisks, are extremely incoherent or illegible, or (in one or two cases) irrelevant. The omitted passages in Coleridge's private cipher cannot be deciphered by the key in my possession.

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RICHARD STEELE AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

By Rae Blanchard

Whether Steele writes of the "fine lady," the "notable woman," or the "witty female," his reforming intention is unmistakable. Frequently, however, this emphasis on feminism as an important social problem has been misconstrued as unlimited praise of woman's sense and virtue and as a constructive reforming program ahead of the time.[1] We need the perspective of a synthesis which will correlate his views of woman with those of his contemporaries. I propose to examine Steele's views as expressed in his essays, periodicals, and plays from the *Christian Hero* to the *Conscious Lovers* and to construe them in the light of contemporary thought on the subject.

There appear to have been, from about 1650 to 1725, three fairly distinct groups of writers interested in the subject of woman. The first was comprised of the conservatives—clergymen, educators, and moralists—whom Steele would have called the "men of sense." Although their opinions were tempered by moderation and affection for their own wives and daughters, they had no genuine respect for woman as a self-directing individual and, in all matters relating to her status in society, were wholly on the side of law and custom. The second group, chiefly men of letters from whose pens came the literature of "wit and gallantry," toyed half-gallantly, half-scornfully, in poetry and essay, with ideas concerning woman. The third group were reformers, more or less consciously attempting to bring about social conditions rising above custom and conformable to reason. They wrote in the spirit of rationalism on a subject which they considered of importance to the welfare of society and humanity. They believed in the justice of educating woman, modifying the old conception of her subordinate position in marriage, and accepting her as an individual with rights and responsibilities.

[1] G. A. Aitken, *The Life of Sir Richard Steele*, London, 1889, I, 68: "In the same chapter [*The Christian Hero*, Ch. 3] he speaks of women in a tone of reverence familiar in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, but very different from what was common among his contemporaries." See also Aitken, *op. cit.*, I, 250-1; W. M. Thackeray, "The English Humorists," *Works*, Boston, 1891, XIII, 204-5; John Forster, *Historical and Biographical Essays*, London, 1858, II, 122.

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I shall consider the various reactions of these groups—the conservatives, the wits, and the reformers—to the chief points of contention, with the purpose of placing Steele among them and of evaluating his contribution to feminism. The four subjects for consideration are: the nature of woman, that is the quality of her mind and the stability of her character; her education; her status in marriage; and her rôle in society.

I

The conservative view of the nature of woman, expressed by seventeenth-century moralists and such writers of courtesy literature as Richard Brathwaite in the *English Gentlewoman* (3rd. ed., 1641), Gervase Markham in the *English House-wife* (8th. ed., 1676), Richard Allestree in the *Ladies' Calling* (1671), Fénelon in *De l'éducation des filles* (1687), and Halifax in *Advice to a Daughter* (1688) was that, in mind and in morals as well as in body, she is weaker than man. This is attested, they maintained, by "the law of nature," custom, and Biblical authority.

Milton's expression in *Paradise Lost* of the doctrine of her inferiority—frequently cited by this group as authoritative—may be taken as typical:

> For well I understand, in the prime end
> Of Nature, her the inferior, in the mind
> And inward faculties, which most excel;
> In outward also her resembling less
> His image who made both, and less expressing
> The character of that dominion given
> O'er other creatures.[2]

Woman, mentally incapable of comprehending the will of God, wisely acknowledges her limitations and makes herself accountable to man, her "author and disposer," as he is answerable to God. Such acquiescence, ordained by God, is woman's "happiest knowledge and her praise."[3] Fénelon based his plans for the education

[2] *Paradise Lost*, Book VIII, ll. 540 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Book IV, ll. 298 and 635 ff. Milton's conception of woman is interpreted by Denis Saurat, in *Milton: Man and Thinker* (New York, 1925, pp. 159-71), as more or less respectful. Writers of the period, however, used his opinions to support views which emphasize woman's inferiority and subjection to man. See, for example, *Spectator*, No. 359, April 22, 1712 (by Budgell); and Blackmore, "On Fear in Women," *Lay-Monastery*, December 11, 1713.

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of woman on the assumption that "Les femmes ont d'ordinaire l'esprit encore faible et plus curieux que les hommes."[4] It was Halifax's conviction that woman's mental inferiority and her subservience to man underlie the plan of society:

> You must first lay it down for a Foundation in general, that there is Inequality in the Sexes, and that for the better Oeconomy of the World, the Men, who were to be the Law-givers, had the larger share of Reason bestow'd upon them; by which means your Sex is the better prepared for the Compliance that is necessary for the better performance of those Duties which seem to be most properly assigned to it.[5]

The weakness of woman's mind and body, these writers all maintained, is accompanied by a corresponding weakness in her moral fiber, which prohibits positive virtues like courage, constancy, and "greatness of soul." She should strive to attain, however, the passive virtues, within her power, of gentle sweetness, modesty, and gracious compliance with man's domination.

In the literature of wit, the mentality and morals of the "fair sex" was a stock subject. The discussions took various forms. They were cynical, libertine denunciations of woman's inferior mentality and her depravity, as in Robert Gould's *Love Given Over: or a Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy of Woman* (1680). Or they were gallant and flowery defences of woman, made chiefly on the basis of her feminine delicacy and sensibility, as in St. Évremond's "Idée de la femme qui ne se trouve point et qui ne se trouvera jamais" (1667).[6] Or a combination of denunciation and defence constituted what appears to be merely an exercise in wit. In this third type, of which William Walsh's *Dialogue concerning Women* (1691) is typical, the conventional accusation of vanity, love of power, and fickleness is followed by a defence, which includes citing an array of notable women.[7] Similar to the accusation and defence type, although written in a more severely moral tone, is a group of essays presenting faulty characters balanced by the opposite perfections: "A Coquette," for example,

[4] *De l'éducation des filles*, ed. Charles Defodon, 8 éd., Paris, 1902, p. 3.

[5] "The Lady's New Year's Gift: or Advice to a Daughter," in *Miscellanies by the late Right Noble Lord Marquess of Hallifax*, London, 1700, p. 13.

[6] *Oeuvres*, 4 éd., Amsterdam, 1726, II, 404-14.

[7] *A Dialogue Concerning Women. Being a Defence of the Sex. Written to Eugenia*, London, 1691.

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with "A Modest Woman." A popular example is an essay by Madame de Pringy, *Les differens caractères des femmes du siècle. . . . Contenant six caractères et six perfections* (1694), which circulated in two English translations—*A Farther Essay Relating to the Female Sex* (1696) and Tom Brown's *Legacy for the Ladies* (1705).[8] It is true that many of these treatises in the literature of gallantry are unoriginal and apparently without any animus except the following of literary convention. Robert Gould, for instance, quite impartial, wrote a "Satyr upon Man" which he prefaced with the couplet:

> I who against the *fair Sex* drew my Pen
> With *equal fury* now attack the *Men*.

Boileau's satire on women (*Satire* X, 1694), obviously an exercise in imitation of classic satire, is too sweeping to bear the stamp of intellectual conviction. Perrault, answering in his *Apologie des femmes* (1694), pointed out that Boileau was merely following a convention and assuming "qu'on ne peut manquer en suivant l'example des Anciens."[9] William Walsh's *Dialogue* was praised by Dryden for having achieved what was apparently a fashionable artistic effect: "that air of Gallantry, which is so visibly diffus'd through the body of the Work, and is indeed the Soul that animates all things of this nature."[10] It is clearly evident, however, that although the majority of these treatises were merely exercises in wit, they were effective as social documents, because they kept feminist ideas before readers and afforded points of attack for

[8] *A Farther Essay* is printed anonymously in the same volume with *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* . . . Written by a Lady, 2nd. ed., London, 1696, long attributed to Mary Astell, but now very certainly believed not to come from her pen. See A. H. Upham, "English *Femmes Savantes* at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XII (1913), 262, and Florence M. Smith, *Mary Astell*, New York, 1916, Appendix II. No conjectures have been made concerning the authorship of *A Farther Essay*. As far as I know, no one has ever pointed out that it is a literal translation of Madame de Pringy's essay. Neither has it been observed that Tom Brown's *Legacy* is also a translation of it.

[9] *Satire du Sr. Despreaux contre les femmes avec l'Apologie des femmes par Mr. Perrault*, Amsterdam, 1694, Preface, p. 25.

[10] *A Dialogue concerning Women* . . ., London, 1691, Preface by John Dryden.

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serious reformers. For instance, Robert Gould's *Love Given Over* called out a spirited defence of women in the *Female Advocate;*[11] and there was a chorus of replies to Boileau's satire.[12]

The third group, the reformers, scoffed at the doctrine of woman's inferiority to man, whether it was expressed lightly by wits or seriously by moralists. They were advocates of rational feminism, refusing, in the name of reason, to admit a natural inequality between the sexes. It is reasonable, they maintained, to believe that there is no sex in souls; that the faculty of reason is not given exclusively to man; that woman will show mental and moral power equal to man's if she is given equal education and opportunity, at present withheld by prejudice, law, and custom. Moreover, the rational status of woman is not only a matter of justice to womankind but also a desideratum in the welfare of society. This propaganda, during the last quarter of the century, was frequently, in both England and France, specifically Cartesian. Reformers endeavored, in the method of the new philosophy, to disentangle the subject from the prejudices of law and custom and to consider it from a rational standpoint.

One of the most enthusiastic and influential adherents of this position was François Poulain de la Barre, an avowed Cartesian,[13] who presented his ideas in three essays: *De l'égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral ou l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des préjuges* (1673);[14] *De l'éducation des dames pour la conduite*

[11] *The Female Advocate or an Answer to a Late Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy of Women.* Written by a Lady in Vindication of her Sex, London, 1687. Five other rejoinders to Gould's satire are listed by A. H. Upham, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff.

[12] In the volume cited above containing Boileau's satire, there are four replies besides that of Perrault: (1) *Satyre contre les maris par le Sieur R XX T D F*, Amsterdam, 1695; (2) *Lettre de Madame de N à Madame la Marquise de . . . sur la satyre de M. Des Preaux contre les femmes*, Paris, 1694; (3) *Réponse à la Satire X du sieur DX X*, Paris, 1694; (4) *Nouvelles remarques sur la satire de Monsr. Boileau contre les femmes* par Sieur D. M., La Haye, 1694.

[13] See Henri Piéron, "De l'influence sociale des principes Cartésiens. Un précurseur inconnu du feminisme et de la Révolution: Poulain de la Barre," *Revue de synthèse historique*, V (1902), 153 ff.

[14] Republished in 1676, 1679, 1690, 1691. Translated into English as *The Woman as Good as the Man, or the Equality of Both Sexes.* Written originally in French and translated into English by A. L., London, 1677.

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de l'esprit dans les moeurs (1674);[15] and *De l'excellence des hommes contre l'égalité des sexes* (1675).[16] In the first Poulain, "suivant la règle de verité," examined the traditional prejudices responsible for the doctrine of inferiority, disposed of them by logic, and vindicated his thesis "que les Femmes sont aussi nobles, aussi parfaites et capables que les hommes."[17] The title of the third essay might give the impression that either he changed his views in the interim or that he regarded both essays as exercises in wit. But as a matter of fact, he was presenting clearly and fairly in this essay the arguments against his thesis with the purpose of showing up their puerility.[18] Like Poulain, the author of the spirited *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (1696) aimed "to reduce the Sexes to a Level, and by arguments to raise Ours to an Equality at most with the Men."[19] John Dunton, who must be given credit for disseminating voluminous propaganda relating to the status of women, evinced in the *Athenian Mercury* (1691-97), the *Ladies' Dictionary* (1694), and the *Female War* (1697), under much jocularity, a decided bias against the argument of inferiority and staunch belief in the equality of the sexes. He advised women to break through the "tender *Cobweb of Ignorance* in which Men like

C. A. Moore pointed out in his "The First of the Militants in English Literature," in *The Nation* (New York, Feb. 17, 1916, pp. 194-96), that Poulain's *De l'égalité* was the basis for three feminist treatises appearing in England in 1739 and 1740.

[15] Republished in 1679.

[16] Republished in 1679, 1690, 1691.

[17] *De l'égalité des deux sexes . . .*, Paris, 1690, Preface.

[18] Florence M. Smith, *op. cit.*, questions Poulain's sincerity on the ground that he answered his first pamphlet with *De l'excellence des hommes*. Myra Reynolds also discredits his earnestness. See the *Learned Lady in England 1650-1760*, Boston, 1920, p. 289. Interpretations of Poulain based on a more complete knowledge of his pamphlets may be found in Henri Piéron, *Revue de synthèse historique*, V (1902), 153 ff.; and in Georges Ascoli, "Essai sur l'histoire des idées féministes en France du XVIe siècle à la Révolution," *Revue de synthèse historique*, XIII (1906), 25-57; 99-106; 161-90.

[19] *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex in which are Inserted the Characters of a Pedant, a Squire, a Beau, a Vertuoso, a Poetaster, a City Critick.* In a letter to a Lady. Written by a Lady, 2nd. ed., London, 1696, Dedication.

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'subtil Spiders'" would warily detain them.[20] "Reason tells us that women have souls as well as men," which, therefore, "are to be Equally prized, as being of Equal value."[21] But it was Daniel Defoe who was most idealistic in the matter. His notable discussion of education for women in the *Essay on Projects* (1697) contains a passage on human equality, which not only reflects a background of seventeenth-century rationalism but presages the democratic doctrines of the later eighteenth century:

> I believe it might be defended if I should say that I do suppose God has given to all mankind equal gifts and capacities in that He has given them all souls equally capable, and that the whole difference in mankind proceeds either from accidental difference in the make of their bodies or from the foolish difference of education.[22]

Steele's ideas concerning the mind and character of woman should be considered against this background of current opinion. When we look for ideas which combat the doctrine of inferiority as squarely as the logic of Poulain de la Barre or the intellectual conviction of Defoe, we have to admit that Steele did not express them. He was aware of innovating ideas, if one may judge from his casual references, here and there, to the subjects of sex-distinction in souls and woman's claim to reason or to the comparison of the faculties in man and woman. But he avoided taking sides. His most liberal statements were non-committal. As the following conspicuous passage in the *Tatler* indicates, he apparently wished to pacify woman and by increasing her self-respect to gain his reforming objective:

> . . . a Creature formed with a Mind of a quite different Make from his own. I am sure, I do not mean it an Injury to Women, when I say there is a Sort of Sex in Souls. I am tender of offending them, and know it is hard not to do it on this Subject; but I must go on to say That the Soul of a Man and that of a Woman are made very unlike, according to the Employments for which they are designed. The ladies will please to observe, I say, our Minds have different not superior Qualities to theirs. The Virtues have respectively a Masculine and a Feminine Cast. What

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[20] *The Ladies Dictionary. Being a General Entertainer for the Fair-Sex. A Work Never Attempted before in English* [Dedication signed N. H.], printed for John Dunton, London, 1694, *sub.* "Ability," p. 18.

[21] *Ibid., sub.* "Reason," p. 438.

[22] "Essay on Projects," in the *Early Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe*, ed. Henry Morley, London, 1889, p. 151.

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we call in Men Wisdom is in Woman Prudence. It is a Partiality to call one greater than the other. A prudent Woman is in the same Class of Honour as a Wise man, and the Scandals in the Way are equally dangerous. . . . To manage well a great Family is as worthy an Instance of Capacity, as to execute a great Employment; and for the Generality, as Women perform the considerable Part of their Duties, as well as Men do theirs; so in the common Behaviour, those of ordinary Genius are not more trivial than the common Rate of Men.[23]

But Steele's tactful generosity, here as elsewhere, is not to be construed as whole-hearted acceptance of the views held by the rationalistic reformers. He was not at all interested in giving woman a more responsible and respected position in society; in fact there is nothing to indicate that he had confidence in her ability to hold such a position. His reforming intention, like that of the conservative moralists, was merely to eradicate selfishness and the vices of idleness and to hold before her dignified ideals of conduct.[24] He differed from the other moralists only in his magnanimous admission that woman, in matters of morality, is more handicapped than man from the lack of a trained understanding and judgment:

If we grant an Equality in the Faculties of both Sexes, the Minds of Women are less Cultivated with Precepts, and consequently may, without Disrespect to them, be accounted more liable to Illusion in Cases wherein natural Inclination is out of the Interest of Virtue.[25]

Frequent censure of the licentious wits is further evidence of Steele's purposes of effecting woman's moral reform by increasing her self-respect. The *Christian Hero* (1701), addressed to soldiers and wits, was designed to reform their social attitudes, among others that toward woman. Careful not to antagonize his readers, he approaches the subject tactfully and meets them on their own ground. But the jaunty gallantry and sentimental phrasings of the man of fashion do not conceal his serious intention. Here he praises rational courtship and the dignity of marriage. Important, also, is the relatively long digression on Portia's loyalty to Brutus, obviously meant to defend woman against the charges of inconstancy, pettiness, and self-love. Portia has left behind her "an

[23] *Tatler*, No. 172, May 16, 1710.

[24] See *Tatler*, Nos. 84, 210, 248. *Spectator*, Nos. 33, 41, 79, 144, 254. *Theater*, No. 1.

[25] *Spectator*, No. 79, May 31, 1711.

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everlasting Argument, how far a Generous Treatment can make that tender Sex go even beyond the Resolution of Man." [26] There are other indications in his early years of authorship of more or less conscious censure of cynicism. Among these is his portrayal of women in the early plays. Young Bookwit in the *Lying Lover* is probably voicing Steele's opinion when he says: "a woman, methinks, is a being between us and angels . . . and I swear to you I was never out in't yet, but I always judged of men as I observed they judged of women." [27] Steele condemned especially "affecting a superior Carriage" toward woman from "a false Notion of the Weakness of a Female Understanding"; [28] and valuing her as "mere Woman"—that is, having "but one Reason for setting any Value on the Fair Sex." [29] And in later years, as this quotation from the *Guardian* shows, he continued to make the same criticism:

> A set of fops, from one generation to another, has made such a pother with "bright eyes, the fair sex, the charms, the air" and something so incapable to be expressed but with a sigh, that the creatures have utterly gone out of their very being, and there are no women in all the world. If they are not nymphs, shepherdesses, graces, or goddesses, they are to a woman, all of them "the ladies." [30]

But it would be misrepresenting the facts to maintain that Steele, on this question of woman's mind and character, entirely separated himself, in literary style or in ideas, from the man of wit. Both his denunciation and his defence of woman are similar to those in the gallant tradition. An amazing number of "characters" in the periodicals are dominated by the egoism, pride, vanity, indolence, and wantonness "of the thoughtless Creatures who make up the Lump of that Sex." [31] Conspicuous among them, from the *Tatler* to the *Theater*, are Cleomira, whose vanity lies in concealment of her age; [32] Flavia and Lucia, the mother and daughter jealous of each other; [33] Castabella, the prude, and Lydia, the coquette, equal-

[26] *The Christian Hero*, 3rd. ed., London, 1710, p. 20.
[27] *Lying Lover*, I, 1.
[28] *Tatler*, No. 149, March 23, 1710.
[29] *Tatler*, No. 53, August 11, 1709.
[30] *Guardian*, No. 26, April 10, 1713.
[31] *Spectator*, No. 4, March 5, 1711.
[32] *Tatler*, No. 61, August 30, 1709.
[33] *Tatler*, No. 206, August 3, 1710. The same theme occurs in *Spectator*, No. 91.

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ly culpable in their "affectation of pleasing men";[34] the Pict, notorious for her vanity and ill humor;[35] Sempronia, a go-between in love intrigues;[36] Jenny Lipsy, Madame Twilight, and Clidamira Dustgown, women of the town;[37] and Leucippe, the celebrated wanton.[38] Steele also very often follows the current literary device of balancing, for purposes of contrast, a virtuous character with a faulty one: for example Daphne with Laetitia,[39] and Emilia with Honoria.[40] Women are either furies or angels:

> The Ill are employed in communicating Scandal, Infamy, and Disease like Furies; the Good distribute Benevolence, Friendship, and Health, like Angels. The Ill are damped with Pain and Anguish at the Sight of all that is laudable, lovely, or happy. The Virtuous are touched with Commiseration towards the Guilty, the Disagreeable, and the Wretched. ... Such is the destroying Fiend, such the Guardian Angel, Woman.[41]

Steele's ideal women, moreover, like those praised by the men of wit, are suffused with what is perilously near mawkish sentimentality. Eve, in the *Christian Hero,* heads the list! She is described as "softened into sweetness" and "tempered into smiles," a beautiful creature over whom Adam claimed superiority in "Strength and Wisdom," but acknowledged inferiority in "Affection."[42] Similar are Emilia, the meek and long-suffering wife,[43] Fidelia, the self-effacing daughter,[44] and Eucratia, the pattern of beauty, who possesses "an Inferiority that makes her still more lovely." The portrayal of his last heroine, Indiana, in the *Conscious Lovers* shows the persistence of this ideal of feminine beauty, set forth most vividly, perhaps, in the character of Eucratia in the *Spectator:*

> In like manner if you describe a right Woman in a laudable Sense, she should have gentle Softness, tender Fear, and all those parts of Life, which

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[34] *Tatler,* No. 126, January 28, 1710.
[35] *Spectator,* No. 41, April 17, 1711.
[36] *Spectator,* No. 437, July 22, 1712.
[37] *Lover,* No. 15, March 31, 1714.
[38] *Theater,* No. 6, January 19, 1720.
[39] *Spectator,* No. 33, April 7, 1711.
[40] *Spectator,* No. 302, February 15, 1712.
[41] *Tatler,* No. 201, July 22, 1710.
[42] *Christian Hero,* p. 31.
[43] *Spectator,* No. 302, February 15, 1712.
[44] *Spectator,* No. 449, August 5, 1712.

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distinguish her from the other Sex; with some Subordination to it, but such an Inferiority that makes her still more lovely. Eucratia is that Creature, she is all over Woman. Kindness is all her Art and Beauty all her Arms. Her Look, her Voice, her Gesture, and whole Behaviour is truly Feminine. A Goodness mixed with Fear, gives a Tincture to all her Behaviour. It would be Savage to offend her, and cruelty to use Art to gain her. Others are Beautiful, but Eucratia thou art Beauty! [45]

Thus Steele, although unwilling to commit himself unequivocally on the subject of woman's inferiority, was otherwise at one with the moralists, who aimed at personal reform only. The general tenor of his writings indicates, however, that he followed the denunciation and defence convention of the wits. In the former, his characterization of woman is worldly and cynical; in the latter, sentimental, her inferiority to man and dependence upon him constituting her chief charm. He indicated little more than awareness of a movement of ideas which related rational womanhood to the larger question of social welfare.

II

The question of woman's education provoked expression of diverse views—prejudiced, conventional, or thoughtful. Is woman educable? If so, is it desirable to educate her? What should be the nature of her training? Although all were agreed that she should have some training beyond that of pretty accomplishments to serve as an antidote against her natural moral unsteadiness, there was disagreement as to the nature and extent of it. The conservative moralists and the men of wit marshalled the same arguments and discussed the problem in the same current commonplaces, only now and again differing in temper and tone. Such women as Mrs. Katherine Philips and Lady Winchilsea shrank alike from the "raillery of the Wits" and the "severity of the Wise." [46] The chief arguments against learning for woman, except that necessary for reading books of house-wifery and piety, were that it would unfit her for household duties; that her pride would become insufferable; that the sovereignty of man would be shaken; and that, on account of her mental instability, anything like learning would

[45] *Spectator*, No. 144, August 15, 1711.

[46] Mrs. Katherine Philips, *Poems*, London, 1678, Preface. See also *Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchilsea*, ed. Myra Reynolds, Chicago, 1903, Introduction.

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"turn her brain"—an enigmatic phrase on everyone's pen.[47] The "learned woman" or "witty female" became a literary anathema,[48] and everyone interested in any aspect of the subject had something to say against romance reading.

During the seventeenth century, however, there were, in the conservative tradition, various treatises intended to be constructive, either by affording actual instruction suited to woman's needs or by presenting discussions of it. The *Ladies' Calling* (1671) was perhaps the most influential of the type intended as a moral guide. Slightly different was Gervase Markham's *English House-Wife* (8th. ed. 1676), which gave definite instruction in household accomplishments. A third type was the courtesy book for the fine lady, of which William Darrell's *A Word to the Ladies* (8th. ed. 1723) is representative. More forward-looking than any of these—although quite as decisively on the side of law and custom—were theories expressed in the last quarter of the century by Mrs. Bathsua Makin in *An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673), and by Fénelon (1687), whose treatise was translated by

[47] For typical expressions of these positions, see Thomas Overbury, "The Wife" (1614), *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1890, pp. 40-1; Bouhours, "Le Bel Esprit," *Les entretiens d'Artiste et d'Eugene* (1671), Paris, 1711, pp. 241-2; Fénelon, *De l'éducation des filles* (1687), 8th. ed., Paris, 1902, pp. 3, 10; John Dunton, *Athenian Mercury*, Question No. 6, "Whether It is Proper for Women to be Learned?" May 23, 1691; Charles Gildon, "Cloe to Urania against Women's Being Learned," *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays on Several Subjects*, London, 1694, pp. 55-6; Swift, "Letter to a Very Young Lady on Her Marriage" (1697) and "Of the Education of Ladies," *Works*, ed. Scott, IX, 202-14 and 261-4; Lady Chudleigh, *The Ladies Defence or the Bride-Woman's Counsellor Answered*, 2nd. ed., London, 1709, IX.

[48] Molière's *Femmes savantes* (1672) had put into the hands of men a powerful weapon against the studious excess of women. For a discussion of this, see Georges Ascoli, *Revue de synthèse historique*, XIII (1906), pp. 52-7. For the retorts of the learned ladies, varying in temper from timid assertions of a woman's right to express her personality in learning to shrewish denunciations of masculine egoism, see Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, London, 1655, Preface "To the Two Universities"; Mrs. Katherine Philips, *Poems*, London, 1678, Preface; Mrs. Elizabeth Singer, *Poems on Several Occasions*, London, 1696, Preface by Elizabeth Johnson; Elizabeth Elstob, *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory*, London, 1709, Preface; Lady Mary Wortley Montague, "Letter to Gilbert Burnet" (July 20, 1710), in *Works*, London, 1803, I, 184-7.

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George Hickes as *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter* (1707). Mrs. Makin advocated teaching young gentlewomen languages and sciences in addition to household and personal accomplishments. Fénelon's contribution was his recognition of the practical need of adapting woman's training to her chief duties: governing a house and rearing children.[49]

Of more value, however, to the cause of woman's education than Fénelon's practicality was the new speculative spirit manifested among the little group of reformers. Consciously trying to break down the restraints of prejudice and custom, they regarded the subject in the light of reason and theorized about the underlying purpose of education. Poulain de la Barre in *De l'éducation des dames* did recommend a course of study, but he was less interested in practical details than in the end to be achieved: "une raison souveraine qui les rende capable de juger de toutes choses sainement et sans prévention."[50] Education, he maintained, should give woman a new sense of spiritual values, a means of mastering life, of directing her reason, and regulating her will. The Abbé Fleury, also, took this position in "Études des femmes," a chapter in his pedagogical treatise *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études* (1686). He advocated freedom in the choice of studies; for, after all, woman's training should aim to develop her personality:

> Il est vrai qu'elles [les femmes] n'ont pas besoin de la plupart des connaissances que l'on comprend aujourd'hui sous le nom d'études. . . . De là, cependant, on a conclu comme d'une expérience assurée, que les femmes n'étaient point capable d'études, comme si leur âmes étaient d'une autre espèce que celles des hommes; comme si elles n'avaient pas, aussi bien que nous, une raison à conduire, une volonté à régler, des passions à combattre, une santé à conserver, des bien à gouverner.[51]

Mme. de Maintenon's school for girls at St. Cyr was founded and conducted, during the early years at least (1686-1692), in this spirit. Although she interested herself very largely in the practical

[49] For an analysis of his pedagogy, see Albert Cherel, "La pédagogie Fénelonienne, son originalité, son influence au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1918), pp. 505-31.

[50] Dedication, as quoted in S. A. Richards, *Feminist Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1914, p. 77. An excellent summary of this treatise is given by Henri Piéron, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[51] Ch. 36, p. 264, as quoted by Ascoli, *Revue de synthèse historique*, XIII (1906), 56-60.

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details of a course of study and daily routine which would train the students for their station in life, she asserted her purpose to be chiefly that of developing their personalities and giving them "une pieté solide" to take the place of unintelligent goodness: "former leur raison, exciter leur coeur, élever leur esprit, détruire leur mauvaises inclinations, en un mot, leur faire connaître et aimer la vertu." [52]

In England, a few innovating voices were to be heard. Mary Astell, acknowledging her indebtedness to French philosophical writers—Descartes, Malebranche, and Nicole—assailed "the foolish and ill-grounded Maxims" of custom, and offered for woman's consideration: *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies.* Her plans for a "Religious Retirement," where women might retire permanently for life-long study or temporarily to fit themselves for life in the world, was vague and impractical as compared with that of Mme. de Maintenon; but her purpose to develop in woman a sense of the dignity of life was very similar:

> . . . whereby they might enlarge their prospect, rectify their false Ideas, form in their Minds adequate conceptions of the End and Dignity of their Natures, not only have the Name and common Principles of Religion floating in their Heads and sometimes running out at their Mouths, but understand the design and meaning of it . . . not only feel Passions, but be able to direct and regulate their Motions.[53]

She had no thought, however, of making over society by giving woman any part in what had always been considered the province of man:

> The Men therefore may still enjoy their Prerogatives for us, we mean not to intrench on any of their Lawful Privileges . . . our only endeavor shall

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[52] "Instruction aux dames de Saint-Louis, 1er août, 1686," in Mme. de Maintenon, *Extraits de ses lettres, avis, entretiens, conversations, et proverbs sur l'éducation*, ed. Oct. Gréard, Paris, 1912, p. 1. For a discussion of the school at St. Cyr, which in 1692 became a monastic school of St. Augustine and in 1707 a convent, the students taking the habit of their order, see Paul Rousselot, *Histoire l'éducation des femmes en France*, Paris, 1883, II, 1 ff. Steele has a long account of Mme. de Maintenon and St. Cyr in the *Guardian*, Nos. 46, 47, 48, May 4, 5, 6 (1713); but he apparently did not know that the school had ceased to be secular.

[53] *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest.* In two parts. By a lover of her sex, 3rd. ed. of Part 1; 1st. ed. of Part 2, London, 1697, Part 2, p. 21.

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be to be absolute Monarchs in our own Bosoms . . . to be intimately acquainted with our own Hearts.[54]

Defoe, also, in his discussion of practicable plans for an "Academy for Women" insisted that it is not reasonable to believe that women were given "souls capable of the same accomplishments with men, and all to be only stewards of our houses, cooks, and slaves." They should be educated as companions of men. Such generous treatment would not result in "exalting the female government" but would engender nobility in women:

A woman of sense and breeding will scorn as much to encroach upon the prerogative of the man, as a man of sense will scorn to oppress the weakness of woman. But if women's souls were refined and improved by teaching, that word would be lost; to say, the weakness of the sex as to judgment, would be nonsense, for ignorance and folly would be no more found among women than men.[55]

The *Preface* added to the English translation of the Abbé Bellegarde's *Lettres* (1702) [56] was very clear on the points at issue—particularly the irrational delimitations of prejudice and custom:

Their Capacity is nothing Inferior, and they might have the same Advantages of Improvement if Vulgar Mistakes did not forbid them the use of those Opportunities, and if the Tyranny of Custom did not Condemn them to more trifling and dangerous Occupations . . . Shall one of the greatest Perfections and Ornaments of Human Nature be reckoned a fault or Blemish in the Women? [57]

John Dunton, similarly, in *Female War* expressed his rationalistic bias squarely. In Letter 35, a man is allowed to marshall all the conventional arguments against woman's being learned: What would she do with knowledge? "Pray what need of Metaphysics to make a Pudding? Woman should have enough mathematics to run family affairs, a little music, a little ethics, and enough rhetoric to keep still." The woman replies in what may be considered the essence of the spirit underlying the claims of the reformers:

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[55] *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-52.

[56] *Lettres curieuses de littérature et de morale* (Title of one letter: "Si les femmes sont inférieures aux hommes par le mérite de l'esprit.")

[57] *The Letters of Monsieur l'Abbé de Bellegarde to a Lady of the Court of France, on Some Curious and Useful Subjects.* Done in English, with a Preface, London, 1705.

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If a Woman's a Member of the Commonwealth of Nature (which can't be deny'd) and ought to fill her Post and discharge her Part as a Citizen of the World, she'll have use enough of her Learning in her Converse with Men, and as much Wit, no doubt to employ't in regulating her Passions, exalting her Mind, and freeing't from Prejudice, Heat, and Obstinacy, rather than apply 'em in making a Pudding, threading a Needle, and teaching Domestic Affairs.[58]

One wonders how many of these contemporary discussions came, in one way or another, to be a part of Steele's intellectual background. Did he believe with the conservatives and wits that woman's mentality would be strained by more knowledge than that necessary for house-wifery or drawing-room accomplishments? Had he any specific plan like those of Mrs. Makin, Mme. de Maintenon, or Daniel Defoe? Did his theories on woman's education follow the channels of rationalism?

There is no assumption in Steele's work, expressed or suggested, that woman's brain would be turned by knowledge. "The fair sex are as capable as men of the liberal sciences," he stated in the *Guardian;*[59] and he implied at every point that he believed it. He thought that much social disorder proceeded from "an unaccountable wild Method in the Education of the better half of the World, the Women."[60] Parents' neglect of their daughters and complete ignoring of their education aroused his indignation:

I am apt to believe, there are some Parents imagine their Daughters will be accomplished enough, if nothing interrupts their Growth or their Shape. According to this Method of Education, I could name you Twenty Families, where all the Girls hear of in this Life is, That it is Time to rise and to come to Dinner; as if they were so insignificant as to be wholly provided for when they are fed and cloathed.

It is with great Indignation that I see such Crowds of the Female World lost to humane Society.[61]

[58] *The Challenge Sent by a Young Lady to Sir Thomas or the Female War Wherein the Present Dresse and Humours of the Fair Sex are Vigorously Attackt by Men of Quality and as Bravely Defended by Madame Godfrey. . . . The Whole Encounter Consists of Six Hundred Letters Pro and Con, on all Disputable Points Relating to Women*, London, 1697, pp. 101-8.

[59] *Guardian*, No. 172, September 28, 1713.

[60] *Tatler*, No. 61, August 30, 1709.

[61] *Tatler*, No. 248, November 9, 1710.

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He also criticized the tendency to consider a woman educated if she were taught drawing-room decorum and pretty feminine graces:

> To make her an agreeable Person is the Main Purpose of her Parents . . . The Management of a young Lady's Person is not to be overlooked, but the Erudition of her Mind is much more to be regarded. . . . The true Art in this Case is, To make the Mind and Body improve together.[62]

But curiously enough if Steele had any definite ideas about a course of training, he never expressed them, not even in the *Guardian*, where he had ample opportunity to discuss the education of the five daughters in the Lizard family. When a correspondent in the *Tatler* asked for advice concerning the education of his daughter, Steele's comment was:

> I am as serious on this Subject as my Correspondent can be, and am of Opinion That the great Happiness or Misfortune of Mankind depends upon the Manner of Educating and Treating that Sex.[63]

He said that he intended later to turn his thoughts more particularly to an answer; but he did not return to the subject. The fullest expression of his opinion is that women should have "Talents and Accomplishments without Respect to their Sex"—such qualifications as would make them pleasing were they not women;[64] and that they should have such training as "would furnish them with Reflections and Sentiments proper for the Companions of reasonable Men."[65]

Acting on these principles, he avowedly made his contribution to woman's education by publishing in 1714 a three volume treatise called the *Ladies' Library*, which was advertised as "consisting of general rules for conduct in all the circumstances of the Life of Women."[66] This project, which he had been considering for several years,[67] appeared as "Written by a Lady, Published by Mr. Steele"; and, as he explained in the preface, is a compilation

[62] *Spectator*, No. 66, May 16, 1711.
[63] *Tatler*, No. 141, March 4, 1710.
[64] *Tatler*, No. 61, August 30, 1709.
[65] *Tatler*, No. 248, November 9, 1710.
[66] *Daily Courant*, October 6, 1714, cited in Aitken, *Life*, II, 39 n.
[67] See *Tatler*, No. 248, November 9, 1710; *Spectator*, No. 37, April 12, 1711 (Addison); *Spectator*, No. 79, May 31, 1711; *Spectator*, No. 140, August 10, 1711; *Spectator*, No. 528, November 5, 1712.

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"out of several writings of our greatest divines." What Steele did, apparently, was to select suitable excerpts and dovetail them together with transitional passages of his own.[68] The borrowings comprise selections from Taylor's *Holy Living;* Fleetwood's *Relative Duties of Parents and Children;* Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man, The Ladies' Calling,* and the *Government of the Tongue;* Locke's *Treatise on Education;* Richard Lucas's *Practical Christianity* and *Enquiry after Happiness;* John Scott's *Christian Life;* Tillotson's *Sermons;* Halifax's *Advice to a Daughter;* Fénelon's *L'éducation des filles;* and Mary Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies.* This makes curious reading for the present-day reader. There are passages from the conservative writers, which are in direct contradiction to what Steele professed to believe: for instance Fleetwood's very strong assertion of the inferiority of woman, according to reason, usage, custom, and God's decree in the Bible.[69] There are others, from Mary Astell for example, which indicate his agreement with the idea that social schemes in the realm of woman should rise above custom and conform to reason.[70] In the main the compilation assumes the capability of woman's mind, the dignity of her personality, and the desirability of giving her morals a rational basis. It does not, however, in any respect, share the new speculative spirit or the purpose of the reforming group. Instead, it fits definitely into the conservative tradition, its unmistakable prototypes being such books as the *English Gentlewoman* and the *Ladies' Calling.* It resembles them in its assumption that the interests of woman are chiefly in domestic affairs and in religion. Its general design—with chapters on chastity, prudence, envy, pride, charity, and meekness—is like theirs. And it shares their aim of offsetting the peculiarly feminine vices of vanity and idleness by inculcating lessons of piety.

We are obliged to conclude, then, that whatever may have been Steele's attitude toward the feasibility and the desirability of educating woman, his constructive efforts did not go beyond producing

[68] For a careful study of the borrowing and the passages pretty certainly from Steele's pen see G. A. Aitken, "The Ladies' Library," *Athenæum,* July 5, 1884, pp. 16-7.

[69] *The Ladies' Library.* Written by a Lady. Published by Mr. Steele, London, 1714, II, 58-85.

[70] *Ibid.,* I, 438-524.

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another moral treatise for her perusal in the vein of the seventeenth-century conservative tradition.

III

The prevailing conception of marriage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not that of an idealistic partnership, based on mutual respect and love and purposing to serve society by rearing a family, but rather a social and economic contract, designed to protect private property and male inheritance. The social and legal subordination of woman was a necessary aspect of the conception, being bound up in a complex of ideas including the doctrine of her natural inferiority, a rigid observance of distinctions in social status, and a belief that social institutions must have final power vested in a head. The first duty, therefore, of the moral, law-abiding woman was to submit graciously to the authority of her parents or her husband (a widow being a social anomaly and a constant cause of perplexity). Such subordination was an ethical principle, and deviation from it was regarded as mutiny against law and religion.

The conservative moralists, as a few citations will show, were dogmatic about the matter. Richard Brathwait asserted in the *English Gentlewoman:* "Her Husband shee acknowledgeth her *head;* whom to oppose were to mutine against her Leader, and consequently shew herself an unruly member." [71] According to the *Ladies' Calling,* subjection to man is the punishment of woman for disobedience to God, and therefore "contending for superiority is an attempt to reverse that Fundamental Law, which is almost as ancient as the World." [72] Halifax told his daughter, gently and affectionately but firmly, of the unassailable social principles underlying woman's subjection: "You are therefore to make your best of what is *settled* by *Law* and *Custom.*" [73] A certain Dr. W. Nicholls, in a learned book entitled *Duties of Inferiors toward their Superiors,* related the idea to social gradation. His book includes five discourses on the duty of subjects to princes, children to parents,

[71] "The English Gentlewoman," in *Times Treasury or Academy for Gentry,* London, 1652, p. 398.

[72] Page 70.

[73] *Advice to a Daughter,* p. 15.

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servants to masters, wives to husbands, and parishioners to pastors, prefaced by an essay on the divine right of kings.[74] Thomas Salmon's *Critical Essay Concerning Marriage,* a sociological treatise relating the history of marriage and divorce to what was regarded as a serious social problem, has a chapter on "Power of Husbands over their Wives."[75] In addition to the wife's subordination, a second dogma was a tradition in matrimonial ethics—her acceptance of a double standard of fidelity. "A patient Submission," the moralists preached, is "the one Catholicon in all distresses"—meaning chiefly an unfaithful husband. "For the worse a Husband is, the more need there is for the Wife to carry herself with that gentleness and sweetness that may be most likely to win him."[76] Perhaps the baldest statement was Halifax's advice to his daughter:

> You are to consider, you live in a time which hath rendered some kind of Frailties so habitual, that they lay claim to large *Grains* of *Allowance.* The World in this is somewhat unequal, and our Sex seemeth to play the Tyrant in distinguishing partially for ourselves, by making that in the utmost Criminal in the *Woman,* which in a *Man* passeth under a much gentler *Censure.* . . . Next to the danger of committing the Fault your self, the greatest is that of seeing it in your *Husband.* Do not seem to look or hear that way.[77]

All of this group of serious writers protested loudly enough against the cynicism with which courtship and marriage were regarded in the literature of wit. In contemporary drama, satire, and essay, love and courtship were the subjects of light banter or of derision. Woman's excessive love of flattery was blamed for man's extravagant wooing and false promises, which apparently were social realities as well as literary conventions. Letters and essays of the "polite St. Évremond," who had a contemporary reputation for understanding women,[78] may be cited here as representative of much of the raillery. The vanity and heartlessness of woman in love affairs is the theme of "Sur la complaisance que les

[74] Reviewed in *History of the Works of the Learned,* III (1701), 33-42.

[75] *A Critical Essay concerning Marriage.* By a Gentleman, London, 1724, pp. 72-6.

[76] *The Ladies' Calling,* pp. 67, 120.

[77] *Op. cit.,* pp. 17, 18.

[78] See *Spectator,* No. 53, May 1, 1711, by Steele, in which a correspondent comments on the subject.

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femmes ont en leur beauté,"[79] an essay which Steele half disparaged, half commended in *Spectator,* No. 33. In the "Ideé de la femme qui ne se trouve point et qui ne se trouvera jamais," St. Évremond remarked lightly that "l'amour n'a presque jamais bien établi son pouvoir au'après avoir ruïné celui de nôtre Raison";[80] and in the essay "De la conversation," he discussed with graceful badinage the necessity of gratifying woman's self-love in order to gain even her slightest inclination.[81] Satire, as well as raillery, was employed by the wits. The convention of portraying marriage satirically in contemporary drama is too well known to be discussed here. Butler's *Hudibras* may be cited as a pertinent example of informal satire. "An Heroical Epistle of Hudibras to his Lady" and "The Lady's Answer to the Knight" present trenchantly in accusation and retaliation the extravagant promises and arrogant falsehood of man, the sly deceit of woman, the mercenary motives for marriage, the mockery of vows, the tyranny of the husband, the unruliness of the wife. The gist of the matter is that

> Marriage, at best, is but a Vow;
> Which all Men either *break* or *bow*.[82]

The group of innovators were indignant at the views of both wits and moralists. Recognizing the interdependence of man and woman and the indissoluble tie between them, they set about to place courtship and marriage on a rational basis, which would give woman a respected position. They opposed the main charges with several clearly defined tenets: the larger share of the blame for insincere courtship, chiefly responsible for unsuccessful marriage, should be shouldered by the man instead of the woman; marriage should be considered as a mutual contract with mutual subordination, obligations, and rights; and there should be one standard of fidelity.

Poulain de la Barre, as is to be expected, regarded marriage as a voluntary contract between two reasonable beings—"c'est de pure volonté et dans un âge où ils-peuvent avoir autant de raison l'un que l'autre"; and as for subordination—"il ne doit y avoir entre

[79] *Oeuvres,* II, 143-8.
[80] *Oeuvres,* II, 411.
[81] *Oeuvres,* III, 107-15.
[82] *Hudibras,* text of 1678, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1905, p. 318.

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eux pas plus de subordination et de dépendence qu'entre deux amis raisonnable que s'entre avertissent de ce qu'ils ont a faire."[83] The letters of the Abbé de Bellegarde, who, according to his translator, "goes out of his way to speak of the Natural Freedom and Equality of Mankind," contain notable views on the reform of courtship, and his conception of marriage is far ahead of his time:

A subordination indeed, between Husband and Wife is reasonable; but this Subordination ought to be mutual. They have their different Provinces in the Administration of their common concerns. Some things fall to the share of the Husband, and others to the Wife. . . . The Wife therefore is to submit and be subordinate to the Husband in those affairs which are his Province, and the Husband to the Wife in what is hers. Their duties and Engagements are Reciprocal and therefore Subordination ought to be mutual also. And the Submission of the Wife is purely Voluntary, in its origin, as well as the Husband's. She engages herself of her own free Will and Choice, and that, at a time, when she is capable of Choosing, and of Governing herself by her own Reason. But whatever share the Wife appropriates to herself, of the common concerns, her Mind is not to be confined within that narrow Circle. May not she improve her Understanding in Knowledge and Learning? Are not Women as capable of the sublimest Improvements as the Men are? Or is there any difference of Sex in the Rational Soul?[84]

Matrimonial fidelity as an obligation of both man and woman was insisted upon by the group, who discussed it from characteristic viewpoints. I shall quote as representative of this general principle from Jeremy Collier—one of Steele's intellectual kindred—who, although not an avowed feminist, nevertheless regarded woman with honest respect:

The Men have no such Exemption as you fancy. Liberty is not entailed upon the Issue Male. . . . They are under the same Duties of Religion, and obliged by the same Laws of Sobriety with the other Sex. The Matrimonial Contract is mutual; and a Failure on either side is equally a Violation of Faith, and a Breach of the Confederacy. And where the Crime is the same, why should the Disgrace go less, or the Punishment not keep a proportion?[85]

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[83] *De L'excellence des hommes contre l'égalité des sexes*, Paris, 1690, pp. 43, 44.

[84] *The Letters of Monsieur l'Abbé de Bellegarde*, pp. 132-3.

[85] "Of Whoredom," in *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*, Part III, London, 1705, p. 121. For a fair expression of his regard for women, see his *Letter to a Lady concerning the New Play House*, London, 1706, pp. 11, 12.

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It is obvious, of course, to the most casual reader of Steele that his reform was particularly directed toward marriage. Like those of the group we have just considered, his ideas followed the channels of rationalism. Much of his propaganda was consciously opposed to social attitudes established by the literature of wit. From his very first writings—the *Christian Hero* and the early plays—he endeavored to dignify courtship and marriage. A passage on rational courtship in the *Christian Hero,* in which he exonerates woman from the conventional charges, forecasted the position which he was to maintain during the next two decades:

> Indeed it is, among other Reasons, from want of Wit and Invention in our Modern Gallants, that the beautiful Sex is absurdly and vitiously entertained by 'em: For there is in their tender Frame, native Simplicity, groundless Fear, and little unaccountable Contradictions, upon which there might be built Expostulations to divert a good and Intelligent Young Woman, as well as the fulsome Raptures, guilty Impressions, senseless Deifications, and pretended Deaths that are every Day offer'd her.[86]

Lord Hardy and Mr. Campley in the *Funeral* made love according to this principle; and Young Bookwit in the *Lying Lover* came to grief because of his lies to Penelope. Steele paid the highest possible tribute to his doctrine, as the following letter to Mary Scurlock attests, by adhering to it in his own courtship:

> As I know no reason why difference of Sex should make our Language to each other differ from the ordinary rules of right reason, I shall affect plainnesse and sincerity in my discourse to you, as much as other Lovers do perplexity and rapture. Instead of saying "I shall die for you," I professe I should be glad to Lead my life with you.[87]

Steele continued to make a point of this until he overdid it in the *Conscious Lovers* by having Bevil Junior and Indiana exult in the fact that the understanding and not the passions is the spring of their love! Usually, however, his emphasis was sensible. A man should bring his "Reason to support his Passion."[88] Marriage is an everyday matter, and women should not be "treated as if they were designed to inhabit the happy Fields of *Arcadia,* rather than be Wives and Mothers in old *England.*"[89]

[86] *Christian Hero,* p. 64.
[87] Aitken, *Life,* I, 174. The letter is dated 1707.
[88] *Spectator,* No. 479, September 9, 1712.
[89] *Tatler,* No. 139, February 28, 1710.

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His effort to dignify the conception of marriage prevailing in the fashionable world was very thoroughgoing. Contemporary drama, he maintained, was to some extent responsible for the banter and ridicule to which marriage was subjected. "The Theater, in some late Reigns owed its chief Support to those Scenes which were written to put Matrimony out of Countenance."[90] He undertook, therefore, to point out not only its social value but the dignified happiness which it affords.[91] The connotation of wife should be changed. Indeed he found this word to be "the most amiable Term in Humane Life."[92] And in order to make it seem agreeable and delightful to his polite readers, he made conspicuous use in one *Tatler* paper of letters from Pliny to Calphurnia;[93] in another, of a letter from Cicero to Terentia;[94] and in a *Spectator* paper, of a translation of an epigram by Martial in honor of his wife Cleopatra.[95] Marriage, he maintained, is a rational contract based on mutual love and respect. His emphasis on the idea that "love is a union of minds"[96] was directed pointedly toward the gallant tradition, which emphasized the sensual element. "Wedlock is but a more solemn Prostitution, where there is not an Union of Mind," he asserted.[97] The position of the wife in the contract should be one of companionship rather than of subjection: "It is the glory of woman to be her husband's friend and companion."[98] There was never any suggestion of servile subordination or of domestic slavery.

He was rigorously opposed to any basis for marriage except mutual love; and consideration of it as an economic contract aroused his indignation. Parents who arrange mercenary marriages for their children were made the subjects of satire and invective

[90] *Tatler*, No. 199, July 18, 1710.

[91] *Christian Hero*, p. 31; *Tatler*, No. 95; *Spectator*, No. 149 and 522; *Englishman* (first series), 9.

[93] *Tatler*, No. 33, June 25, 1709. Also in *Spectator*, No. 490, September 22, 1712.

[93] *Tatler*, No. 149, March 23, 1710.

[94] *Tatler*, No. 159, April 15, 1710.

[95] *Spectator*, No. 490, September 22, 1712.

[96] *Lying Lover*, I, 1.

[97] *Tatler*, No. 91, November 8, 1709.

[98] Letter to Mrs. Steele, dated August 11, 1709. Aitken, *Life*, I, 217.

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in both plays and periodicals.[99] The custom of marriage settlements, whereby a generous jointure was secured to the bride on the death of her husband and "pin-money" allowed her during her life time, was particularly distasteful to him, not because it gave more economic freedom to woman, but because it implied that marriage is not a union of mutual confidence: "Thus is Tenderness thrown out of the Question; and the great Care is, what the young Couple shall do when they come to hate each other?"[100] "Pin-money," he denounced as something invented "to intimate to the young People, that they are very soon to be in a State of War with each other."[101] It might be argued that Steele's own marriages showed an inclination to worldliness, because his wives were both wealthy women. Of the first wife, Margaret Stretch, little is known except that on her death Steele inherited her estate in the Barbados. His second wife, Mary Scurlock, was also an heiress; but no one who reads the remarkable series of four hundred notes and letters which Steele wrote to her during their courtship and married life of eleven years can believe there was a worldly motive in Steele's choice.[102]

Considering the social customs of his age, Steele's persistent efforts to bring about one standard of sex morality and matrimonial fidelity were remarkable. The *Tatler* denounced the "Tyrant Humour,"[103] which condemns woman for what is condoned in man; and affirmed "it is certain, that Chastity is . . . as much to be valued in Men as in Women."[104] Later, in the *Guardian,* in a systematic discussion of the matter, Steele arraigned the social usages which "instead of avenging the cause of an abused woman, will proclaim her dishonor; while . . . he who did the wrong sees no difference in the reception he meets with."[105] There is a chasm between Steele's ideal of wifehood and that presented by Halifax

[99] *Tender Husband* and *Conscious Lovers* deal with aspects of it. See also *Tatler*, Nos. 185 and 199.

[100] *Tatler*, No. 199, July 18, 1710.

[101] *Ibid.*, No. 199, July 18, 1710.

[102] See particularly Mrs. Steele's letter concerning the administering of the estate after her mother's death and Steele's reply dated March 28, 1713, Aitken, *Life*, I, 374-6.

[103] *Tatler*, No. 33, June 25, 1709.

[104] *Tatler*, No. 58, August 22, 1709.

[105] *Guardian*, No. 45, May 2, 1713. See also *Tatler*, No. 201; *Guardian*, No. 5; *Lover*, No. 24; *Theater*, No. 6.

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and other conservatives, who praised woman for an infinite capacity to forgive infidelity in her husband and beguile him back to virtue.[106]

Steele's conception of marriage and wifehood, consistently idealistic, identifies him—if not in principle, at least in reforming objective—with the rationalistic innovators. Unlike theirs, his views are never polemical and are not clearly related to a system of feminist propaganda. They are, however, consciously directed against fashionable opinion, which degraded marriage by ridicule; and they are out of sympathy with the essentially ignoble view held by conservative moralists. One is grateful to know that his ideas were not mere theories but living principles exemplified in his marriage and regard for his wife. His letters to Mrs. Steele extending from August 1707 to May 1717 are charming and convincing evidence that theirs was a happy marriage. Barring a little undercurrent of anxiety about money affairs, partly due to Prue's tendency to over-value money, partly to Steele's impecuniosity, there is nothing to suggest that he did not find his views demonstrable.[107]

IV

On the question of the rôle of woman in society, all three groups were of the same mind. The goal of woman is marriage. The characteristic position of such conservative treatises as the *Ladies' Calling* was very much like that of Overbury's exasperating smugness:

> Marriage their object is; their *being* then
> And now perfection, they receive from men.[108]

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[106] The story of Emilia and Bromius in *Spectator*, No. 302, is the one instance in which Steele seems to be writing in the Halifax vein. But here, it seems to me, he emphasizes the power of the submissive wife to point a moral against the nagging one.

[107] Steele wrote two outstanding tributes to her: one during her lifetime in his dedication to her of the third volume of the *Ladies' Library* (1714); one after her death in the *Theater*, No. 12, February 9, 1720.

[108] *The Wife*, which is frequently quoted by current authors. It was first published in 1614; an eighteenth impression appeared in 1664, and it was republished in 1673 as the "Illustrious Wife, viz. that excellent Poem, Sir Thomas Overburie's Wife, illustrated by Giles Oldisworth."

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Their contribution to society, therefore, must come from within the home. The "Government of your *House, Family,* and *Children,*" Halifax instructed his daughter, is the "Province alloted to your Sex."[109] Or, as Addison put it, "The Family is the proper Province for Private Women to shine in."[110] All contemporary plans for woman's education—Mrs. Makins's, Mme. de Maintenon's, Fénelon's, Mary Astell's, and Daniel Defoe's—were designed to give her a happier and more efficient life in the administration of home. The boldest plea of those advocating reform in her education was that she be given an equal chance with men to develop her reason and will for the more complete understanding and mastery of life. Mary Astell stood practically alone in advocating what amounts to woman's economic independence—that is, the choice of religious retirement for the purpose of study as an alternative to marriage. Even Poulain de la Barre, who proved to his own satisfaction that woman is capable of public work, decided, after all, that the exigencies of maternity would keep her from ever engaging in it. Her work of bearing and educating children is as important as the public offices of man, and, sensibly enough:

> Afin que deux personnes soient égales dans une société, il n'est necessaire qu'elles puissent faire la même chose, ou qu'elles la fassent de la même manière. C'est assez qu'elles en puissent faire d'equivalentes.[111]

Bellegarde was probably one of a very few who suggested that "as all women do not have children, we do them an injustice by pronouncing them universally incapable of other Employments."[112] The few women who ventured outside the walls of home as scholars, playwrights, poets, and moralists did so very timidly, as their apologetic prefaces indicate. Actresses placed themselves outside the pale of social respectability. As the eighteenth-century historian of women remarked, it was a tacit assumption that there was no employment between ruling the kingdom and superintending the affairs of her own kitchen which could be safely delegated to woman![113]

[109] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
[110] *Spectator*, No. 81, June 2, 1711.
[111] *De l'excellence des hommes*, pp. 98, 99.
[112] *Op. cit.*, p. 128.
[113] William Alexander, *The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity*, London, 1779, II, 336.

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What was Steele's idea of the social rôle of woman? It should be stated at the outset that he did not regard the question lightly, nor as an isolated problem, but seriously, as one bearing greatly on the whole problem of public welfare. His most direct statement of this point of view is given in the *Englishman* (first series), designed he stated in the first number, for serious discussion of public matters, which he hoped to lay before English citizens "like a Man of Experience and a Patriot."[114] Accordingly, when he came to the subject of woman in the ninth number, he wrote in a tone of earnestness, attempting to show the far-reaching effects involved in the treatment of women:

> In all Nations their public Affairs are conducted with more or less Elegance, Dexterity, and Success, as they respectively restrain or give Freedom to their Women. . . . Where the fair Sex are treated with Gallantry and superior Civility, that Treatment has its visible Effect to the Advantage of all publick and private Transactions. I will take upon me to say, the *French* principally owe their Greatness to it. . . . *Holland* by the same Rule, . . . also owe their Prosperity to their Treatment of their Women. . . . It is indeed a senseless Imagination, to suppose the Business of humane Life is to be carried on with an Exclusion of half the Species.[115]

But the "Business of humane life" which Steele allotted to the other "half of the species" did not lie outside the walls of home. This bias may be inferred from his occasional comment on the learned ladies of the age. Approbation was conspicuously wanting. Swift's satiric presentation of Mary Astell—Madonella—and her college for women must have had Steele's editorial approval.[116] He himself mentioned her in other *Tatler* papers with slight though unmistakable satiric intention—in one as "Mrs. Comma, the great scholar."[117] Elizabeth Elstob was cited in a *Tatler* paper by Swift as "a certain lady who is now publishing two of the choicest Saxon novels."[118] Steele's name was not one of the subscribers to her

[114] *Englishman* (first series), No. 1, October 6, 1713.

[115] *Englishman* (first series), No. 9, October 24, 1713.

[116] *Tatler*, No. 32, June 23, 1709. See also *Tatler*, 63.

[117] *Tatler*, No. 166, May 2, 1710. See also *Tatler*, No. 253, In the preface of her *Enquiry after Wit* (2nd. ed. 1722) she remarks that Steele has "made an honourable Amends . . . by transcribing above an hundred Pages [of the *Proposal to the Ladies*] into his *Ladies Library* verbatim."

[118] *Tatler*, No. 63, September 3, 1709.

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English-Saxon Homily (1709).[119] His literary quarrel with Mrs. Manley lasted from 1709 to 1717; and in the course of these years there were unsavoury remarks on his side as well as on hers.[120] Lady Elizabeth Hastings, as Aspasia, received sincere and beautiful praise from Steele, but not as a woman who was in the public eye.[121] Neither are there evidences in any of his dedications to women that he praised them for work which carried them into the realm of man.[122]

For Steele was entirely in agreement with his age and not beyond it in considering marriage as the one goal for woman and the home as her only province. Surprisingly like Overbury's is his couplet in the *Funeral:*

> And woman's happiness, for all her Scorn,
> Is only by that side whence she was born.[123]

Nestor Ironsides, in the *Guardian,* voices Steele's opinion when he says anxiously of the "Sparkler," one of the Lizard daughters, who shows signs of being a wit: "I should be loth to have a poetess in our family."[124] Steele was half-apologetic to Mrs. Steele in the graceful dedication of the third volume of the *Ladies' Library* for bringing her into the public view at all: "You are so great a Lover of Home, that I know it will be irksome to you to go into the World even in an Applause." It was Steele's belief that

[119] I am indebted to Miss Reynolds for this observation. See the *Learned Lady in England,* p. 172.

[120] See particularly *Guardian,* 53, May 12, 1713. For her comment, see *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality of Both Sexes. From the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediterranean* . . . Written Originally in Italian . . . , 4 vols., 6th. ed., London, 1720, I, 205-13. The 2nd. ed. of Part 2 ("The Second Volume" . . . 1709) attacks Steele's conception of satire (as seen in the *Tatler*) in the Dedication; the 1710 ed. of (vol. III) *Memoirs of Europe* has a seven-page hostile dedication to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., and prints a letter from Steele.

[121] *Tatler,* No. 49, August 2, 1709. Cf. also *Tatler,* No. 42, of uncertain authorship.

[122] The *Funeral* (1701) to the Countess of Albemarle; the *Funeral* and the *Tender Husband* (1712) to the Duchess of Hamilton; the *Ladies' Library* (1714) Vol. I to the Countess of Burlington, Vol. II to Mrs. Catherine Bovey, Vol. III to Mrs. Steele.

[123] II, 3.

[124] *Guardian,* No. 15, March 28, 1713.

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the only service which women can render to society lies entirely within the circle of home. One clear expression of this position, as extreme as that of the dyed-in-the-wool conservatives, is found in the *Spectator:*

> We have indeed carried Women's Characters too much into public Life, and you shall see them now-a-Days affect a sort of Fame: but I cannot help venturing to disoblige them for their Service, by telling them, that the utmost of a Woman's Character is contained in domestick Life: She is Blameless or Praiseworthy according as her Carriage affects the House of her Father or her Husband. All she has to do in the World, is contained within the Duties of a Daughter, a Sister, a Wife, and a Mother . . . when they consider themselves as they ought, no other than an additional Part of the Species (for their own Happiness and Comfort as well as that of those for whom they were born) their Ambition to excel will be directed accordingly; and they will in no Part of their Lives want Opportunities for being shining Ornaments to their Fathers, Husbands, Brothers, or Children.[125]

Steele's views, then, on the status of women did not coincide with those of any one group of contemporary writers. He did not agree wholly with the opinion held by conservative moralists of woman's intellectual and social inferiority, and he objected vigorously to their view of her servile subordination in marriage. But, on the question of her education, not only his perfunctory discussions, but also his *Ladies' Library,* designed to embody his principles, indicate that his ideal, like theirs, was merely to give woman conventional ethical instruction. Neither was he in complete agreement with the literary group. He strongly opposed their tendency to emphasize one aspect of woman's nature and to sneer at courtship and marriage; and toying with the subject according to the rules of a literary mode was not to his taste. He had, however, a very decided affinity with the group. From the first, he was in sympathy, through temperament and conviction, with the literary and social ideals of the wits, and it is obvious that he conformed to the fashionable tradition in the *Christian Hero,* in the plays, and—with the exception of the *Guardian* and the *Englishman*—in the periodicals. This accounts for his frequent gallant tone, which in comparison with the earnestness of the reformers, seems flippant. It may account for some aspects of his disparag-

[125] *Spectator,* 342, April 2, 1712.

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ing "characters." Very likely a remnant of the flowery descriptions of woman in the gallant tradition lingered on in the sentimentality with which he was inclined to invest virtuous woman.

The conservatism and the superficiality which Steele shared, respectively, with the moralists and the wits make it impossible to identify him with the reformers. It is plain that his reforming intention, although sincere and persistent, was not in the confident spirit of the rationalistic group, who, assailing custom and opinion, affirmed belief in woman as a rational being and advocated training which would make her a self-directing individual. His inability to accept such an optimistic doctrine and to use it as a basis for constructive reform should be connected with his acknowledgment of the irrationality of human nature—a fundamental element in his moral theory which has been obscured by persistent overemphasis on his confidence in the "excellency of human nature." In woman as in man, he believed, egoism and the power of the passions are basic. The irrational and selfish women portrayed by Steele far outnumber those whose conduct is motivated by reason; his ideal women—the Lady Sharlots, Eucratias, and Indianas—exemplify the aspect of his "anti-rationalism" which expressed itself, in this particular as in others, in a concept of sentimental virtue.

Thus Steele's zeal for improving woman's morals should not be mistaken for unqualified reverence. His awareness of innovating feminist ideas should not be construed as approval of them. He never expressed his reforming principles in a manner even approaching the controversial spirit of Poulain de la Barre, the intellectual conviction of Defoe, or the daring of Mary Astell. But probably for this very reason he had more influence and a far larger reading public than they. Tactful, sincere, avoiding over-earnestness, he continued for twenty years to disseminate ideas which contributed to the evolution of feminist thought in England.

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THE EARLY STAGE OF CARTESIANISM IN ENGLAND

By Marjorie Nicolson

Students both of philosophy and of literature have disagreed markedly in regard to the problem of the influence of Descartes upon English thought. Until the present century, histories of thought for the most part insisted that his influence was slight, and that it occurred late in the century, at a time when Cartesianism in France was definitely declining. More than one such history placed the beginning of English Cartesianism as late as 1675.[1] Later scholarship has done much to correct this impression, pointing out various disciples and opponents of Descartes in England from 1650 on, tracing analogies and influences, until it is today generally agreed that Cartesianism was powerful, though by no means universal, in England during the 1650's, while manifestations may be detected earlier. There has been equal divergence of opinion as to what constituted the Cartesian influence, in these early stages, some critics finding it chiefly in the new astronomical and mathematical conceptions, others stressing the growing emphasis on reason, others still the mechanistic implications of Cartesianism—its supposed insistence upon the idea of the world as machine and animals as automata—still others finding its chief contribution in its emphasis upon *modern* in the perennial warefare of *ancient* and *modern*. The conclusions of modern critics in regard to the contribution of Descartes to English thought have been based, for the most part, upon a survey of the movement as a whole; but to understand its peculiar effect upon its own period, one must be aware that Cartesianism in England went through certain clearly defined stages. So far as its contribution to philosophy is concerned, it is possible to speak of the movement as a whole as the sum of these parts; but the psychological effect of the earlier period was very different from the effect of later Cartesianism; ideas were popularized while still only vaguely comprehended; by the time enthusiasts had discovered the implications of those ideas, the deed was

[1] Cf. for example Erdmann's *History of Philosophy*, 1891, II, 39, where the introduction of Cartesianism is attributed to Anthony Legrand, a Franciscan of Douai and a member of the Catholic mission to England. Legrand's *Institutio Philosophiae* did not appear until 1672.

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done. As yet no one has attempted an historical study of English Cartesianism, attempting to trace as far back as possible the actual reading of Descartes in England, and the teaching of his philosophy in the universities, observing the tenor of early references to the French philosopher and of the translations of his works into English, with a view to determining the inception, development, and direction of this important movement. The present paper is designed merely as a contribution to some such future work. The author proposes first to call attention to some unnoticed—or at least neglected—evidences of the interest in Descartes in England in the earliest period, and to some passages which suggest what early translators found in his books; secondly, to discuss the teaching of Descartes in one of the colleges at Cambridge during the early years of the movement; and finally, to suggest tentatively some of the possible results upon contemporary literature and contemporary thought of early Cartesianism as it was intepreted in England.

I

Descartes' first work of importance appeared anonymously in 1637, *A Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking for Truth in the Sciences.*[2] With the *Discourse* appeared also a series of *Essays,* all written in French. Only after Mersenne had insisted on showing the work broadly as from Descartes' pen was the authorship acknowledged. Among the younger group which surrounded Mersenne in Paris at this time was that extraordinary character—adventurer, alchemist, physician, genius, and charlatan—Sir Kenelm Digby. The victim of his own versatility, Digby has been dismissed alike by students of philosophy and of literature; yet he is worthy closer study than has been devoted to him, and his letters—some of them still unpublished—not only rank high in that age of letters, but afford a valuable cross-section of the intellectual life of the day. Among his correspondents in 1637 was Thomas Hobbes, at that time living in the house of William Cavendish, the Earl of Devonshire. Most of Digby's letters to Hobbes have unfortunately disappeared, but two or three of them came by chance into the hands of William Sancroft, later Archbishop of Canterbury, while he was still a student at Cambridge. Sancroft was at the time apparently much interested in

[2] The *Discours de la Methode* was written in 1636, but published 1637.

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contemporary philosophers, for in his commonplace book, which is today in the Bodleian Library,[3] he has copied meticulously several letters dealing with Descartes, Hobbes, and Herbert of Cherbury. Two of the letters from Digby to Hobbes bear dates of only a month apart, and since Digby in the first apologizes for not having written for six weeks, and in the second refers to still another letter not extant, we may conclude that the correspondence was a regular one, and that Digby was in the habit of keeping Hobbes in touch with continental affairs. The second of these letters is of much interest in the history of English Cartesianism, since it evidently marks the real introduction of the works of Descartes into England. Digby wrote on October 4, 1637:[4]

Sir

I come now with this to make good what I promised you in my last: which is to putt Monsieur des Cartes (whom Mydorge[5] so much admireth) his book into your hands. I doubt not but you will say this is a production of a most vigorous and strong braine: and that if he were as accurate in his Metaphysicall part as he is in his experience, he had carryed the palme from all men living: which nevertheless he peradventure hath done. I shall be very glad to heare your opinion of him: and so in hast I take my leave and rest,

Your true friend and servant
Kenelm Digby.[6]

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[3] *Rawlinson Mss. D 1104.* William Bloys wrote to Sancroft (*Tanner Mss. LXI*, 207) that he had observed "your laudable practice, as to have the Writings of many learned men, so to have the Hands (as the Prototypes) of diverse Worthyes."

[4] *Rawlinson Mss. D 1104*, f. 12. Ferdinand Tönnies in *Thomas Hobbes der Mann und der Denker* (Leipzig, 1912, p. 17) mentions this letter but does not quote it.

[5] Claude Mydorge (1583-1647), the French mathematician and one of the early defenders of Descartes.

[6] Seven years later, in 1644, Digby published in Paris his *Two Treatises, in the one of which The Nature of Bodies, in the other The Nature of Mans Soule is looked into: in way of discovery of the Immortality of Reasonable Souls.* This was a subject with which he had been concerned when he wrote his first letter to Hobbes, for he inquires there in detail about Hobbes' belief in regard to the nature of soul and its relation to body. In these treatises the name of Descartes appears, and the references suggest that Digby was acquainted not only with his *Discourse*, but also with the other works which had appeared in the meantime. Descartes' opinion concerning the immortality of the soul is mentioned—he himself called Aureolus Renatus Des Cartes—in an anonymous tract, the "Prerogative of Man" in *Tracts of the Soul*, 1645, p. 25.

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Not only then, were copies of Descartes's works in the original available in England soon after their publication, but from 1649 translations began to appear, the prefaces of which suggest the enthusiastic esteem in which Descartes was held, at least among one group of English thinkers. In the preface to the first of these, an anonymous translation of the *Discourse,*[7] the author is hailed as "the great Des Cartes who may justly challenge the first place among the Philosophers of this Age," and the work is called "this Masterpiece . . . a method by the Rules whereof we may shape our better part, rectifie our Reason, form our manners, and square our actions, adorn our minds, and making a diligent inquiry into Nature, we may attain to the Knowledge of the Truth, which is the most desirable union in the world." The second translation, also anonymous, was of the *Passions;*[8] here too Descartes is spoken of as if universally famous: "All men know your reputation is already great," declares the editor in his preface, "and the publique is much concerned in knowing that no man in the world but your selfe (at least whose writings we have) ever discovered the true principles and understood the first causes of whatever is produced in nature." Only one other name, the editor seems to think, may be mentioned in a breath with that of Descartes; and it is interesting to observe, in 1650, the bracketing together of Descartes and Francis Bacon.[9] What it was in both which seemed important to the anonymous editor and translator is clear from a letter which, with Descartes' response, is prefixed to the translation; it was the impetus which both, in their different ways, had given to the progress of the *modern* in the struggle with the *ancient.*[10] The same idea fasci-

[7] *A discourse of a Method for the well-guiding of Reason, and the Discovery of Truth in the Sciences,* London, 1649.

[8] *The Passions of the Soule in three Books by R. des Cartes, and Translated out of French into English,* London, 1650.

[9] The editor remarks in the preface: "I have also seen the *Advancement of Learning* and the *New Atlantis* of my Lord Chancellor Bacon, who of all of them that have written before you, seems to me the man who had the best notions, concerning the method to be held to bring the Physicks to their perfection."

[10] Cf. such a paragraph as the following: "Most men think that there can nothing be found out in the Sciences, better then what hath been found out by the Ancients; and some conceive not so much as what the meaning of Physicks is, or what they are good for. Now it is easie to prove that

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nated the anonymous author of a little book of *Reflections*.[11] "What excellent discoveries are there daily found out," says the translator in his preface, "even in things wherein our ordinary subsistence is concerned, which yet we are not content onely to embrace, but endeavour to improve and advance. And why may not the same thing happen also in Philosophy, which is of that extent, that she is not limited but by the universe?" "The truly great Des Cartes," the philosopher is called here, "the prodigy of this age." Still another early translator speaks of him as "one of the fairest flowers in that garland of the mathematicks, wherewith this century (is) meritoriously adorned."[12]

II

Such random instances, interesting though they may be as suggesting the direction in which the current was flowing, are on the whole less significant in tracing the course and influence of the movement, than was the actual teaching of Descartes in the universities. The work of John Hall of St. John's College, Cambridge, suggests a characteristic reaction of a youthful mind to new ideas. In 1646, during his first year at the university, Hall had written and dedicated to the Master, Dr. Arrowsmith, a volume of essays

the too great reverence born to antiquity, is an errour extreamly prejudicial to the advancement of Sciences. For it is seen that the savage people of *America*, and many others who inhabit places lesse remote, have many lesse conveniences of life then wee, and yet their originall is as ancient as ours, so that they have as much reason as wee to say that they are satisfied with the wisdome of their fathers, and that they believe no man can teach them better than what hath been known and practized among them from all Antiquity. And this opinion is so prejudiciall, that till it be rejected, it is impossible any new learning can be acquired, besides, experience shewes, that the people whose mind it is deepest rooted in, are they who are yet most ignorant, and because it is frequent even amongst us, that may be one reason to prove, that wee are farre from knowing all wee are capable of."

[11] *Reflections upon Monsieur des Cartes' Discourse of a Method for the well-guiding of Reason and Discovery of Truth in the Sciences. Written by a private Pen in French and translated out of the original by J. D.*, London, 1655. The translator was probably John Davies.

[12] *Renatus Des-Cartes Excellent Compendium of Musick, with Necessary and Judicious Animadversions thereupon. By a Person of Honour*, London, 1653.

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entitled *Horæ Vacivæ*,[13] "faint breathings," as he said, "of a mind burdened with other literary employments." The essays were not on the whole well received, and during the next year, Hall replied to various detractors with his satirical *Poems*. In these works as in his attack on Presbyterianism written in 1648 the influence of Descartes may be detected; but it becomes clear and definite in his bitter attack on the limitations of university study, which he published in 1649.[14] Here he complains that "raw striplings come out of some miserable country school with a few shreds of Latin, that is as unmusicall to a polite ear, as the gruntling of a sow, or the noise of a saw can be to one that is acquainted with the laws of harmony. And then possibly before they have surveyed the Greek alphabet to be racked and tortured with a sort of harsh abstract logicall notions, which their witts are no more able to endure, than their bodies the strapado; and to be delivered over to a jejune Peripatetic philosophy; suited only (as Monsieur Descartes sayes) to witts that are seated below mediocrity."

Hall's attack against the old would not have been so bitter had he not already come in contact with the new, recognized its value, and felt its charm. Though it had not yet taken hold upon the University in general, the new Cartesian philosophy was being discussed and talked among the Cambridge Platonists, most of all at Christ's College. That Hall was aware of this, and that he had during these years been in close touch with the sponsor of the movement is suggested by the fact that his first book was prefaced by complimentary verses written by Henry More.[15]

The actual date of More's first acquaintance with the Cartesian philosophy must remain a matter of conjecture. A younger contemporary is authority for the statement that the link between More and Descartes was John Allsopp, chaplain to Archbishop Laud, who had been Senior Fellow at Christ's until 1639-40. After the death of Laud "he was banish'd and flew into France, and dyed with King Charles in his exile. While in France he was personally

[13] *Horæ Vacivæ, or Essays with some occasionall Considerations*, London, 1646.

[14] *An Humble Motion to the Parliament of England Concerning the Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the University*, 1649.

[15] "To the Young Author upon his incomparable Vein in Satire and Love Sonnets," in *Poems*, 1646.

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and intimately acquainted with Descartes, and was the first occasion of introducing that Philosophy into Cambridge, and occasioned there many letters between Cartes and Dr. Moor of Xt's Coll: which are printed in his works: and this I have been assured of severall times from Dr Moor and Dr Cudworth his contemporaries."[16] Since More published nothing between the first and second editions of the *Psychodia Platonica,*[17] except his *Infinitie of Worlds,*[18] and since the notes to his poems, in which Descartes' name appears, are only in the second edition, it is impossible to say whether in 1642 More knew Descartes or not. Certain phrases which might be interpreted as having reference to Cartesian theories are of so vague a nature as to be valueless as evidence. But when in 1647, More published his second work, the *Infinitie of Worlds,* not only does the name of Descartes appear in the preface, but the position which More adopts in his argument—diametrically opposed to that in the earlier work—is strongly influenced by, if not caused by the Cartesian idea of indefinite extension. From this time on, it is possible to read at least one chapter of English Cartesianism in the biography of More, though less in the published record of his life than in his letters still in manuscript in the British Museum.[19] As fellow and as tutor he taught at Cambridge his own interpretation of Descartes for over thirty years. Even after he recognized and acknowledged his divergence from the Cartesian metaphysics, he continued to teach Cartesian physics and to some extent Cartesian ethics. But in the early period, there were no doubts in More's mind; Descartes was his idol; and he poured fourth his enthusiasm to a steadily growing group of youths, who,

[16] Letter of Josias Allsopp of Oxford, a nephew of John Allsopp, to John Walker, January 18, 171½, in *Walker MSS.* (Bodleian Library) Ch. VII, p. 126. Cf. Peile, *Biographical Registers of Christ's College,* I, 315.

[17] *Psychodia Platonica: or A Platonicall Song of the Soul,* Cambridge, 1642.

[18] *Democritus Platonissans: or An Essay on the Infinitie of Worlds out of Platonick Principles,* Cambridge, 1646.

[19] *Add. Mss. 23, 216.* Nearly 150 of More's letters are extant, many of them addressed to Anne Viscountess Conway. I have prepared for publication most of these, together with other unpublished letters of the century, as *Conway Letters.*

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impatient of the confining philosophy of scholasticism, found in More's Cartesianism stimulation and excitement.[20]

Students have found in More's varying reactions to Descartes a significant and interesting chapter in the history of thought.[21] From an almost abject discipleship, he passed to a period of questioning, though mingled with loyal defence, then, as his questions became more and more unanswerable, to a period of doubt and disillusion, until finally he became almost as violent an adversary as he had been a partisan. His was a reaction far from rare in the history of Cartesianism. Perhaps the most familiar continental counterpart was Henri le Roi (Henricus Regius) who in 1638 was appointed to the chair of botany and theoretical medicine at Utrecht, where he became one of the most important teachers of the Cartesian philosophy in Europe. Enthusiastic, loyal, vehement, he defended Descartes against charge after charge of atheism and infidelity. Yet in 1646, Regius in his *Fundamenta Physica* gave the world to understand that he had ceased to be an adherent of Descartes, and in his later work he lost no opportunity for violent

[20] In a more extended treatment, based primarily upon the letters mentioned above, I attempt to suggest the effect of More's Cartesianism upon certain of his followers, particularly George Rust, Jeremy Taylor's successor; John Finch, professor of medicine at Pisa and Padua, and later ambassador to Constantinople; his sister, Anne Finch, later Viscountess Conway; and Joseph Glanvill, who lamented that he had spent barren years at Oxford when he might have been sharing the new spirit at Cambridge.

[21] The most interesting studies of this relation, representing different points of view, are the following: Elizabeth Haldane, *Descartes, His Life and Times*, London, 1905, pp. 325 ff.; Norman Smith, *Studies in the Cartesian Philosophy*, London, 1902, pp. 77 ff.; Edwin Arthur Burtt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, New York, 1925, pp. 127 ff.; W. Cunningham, *The Influence of Descartes on Metaphysical Speculation in England*, London, 1876, pp. 77 f.; John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 1874, II, 368 ff.; Georges Lyon, *L'Idealisme en Angleterre au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1888, ch. II; Francisque Bouillier, *Histoire de la Philosophie Cartesienne*, Paris, 1854, pp. 230 ff.; and the article on More by M. Franck in the *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques*. A brief outline of the matter will be found in the *Philosophical Writings of Henry More*, edited by Flora Isabel Mackinnon, Oxford, 1925, pp. 248-50. In these works the reader will find technical analyses of similarities between More and Descartes, and a discussion of the objections which More in time raised against Cartesianism.

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attack upon his earlier master. In More's case the disillusion, though less sudden, was not less bitter. As Coleridge to Kant, More came to Descartes with his head full of Plato and Plotinus; like Coleridge, again, he found in his great contemporary less what he sought than what he brought; and the final revulsion of each was in direct proportion to his enthusiasm. But before the revulsion occurred, each, by the scope of his writing and even more by the force of his personality, had spread abroad in his generation a peculiar synthesis of his new master with Platonic and Christian mysticism, to a degree so powerful that, not only is it impossible to understand their generations without them, but to a marked degree they gave direction to succeeding English thought.

As More grew farther and farther away from his earlier enthusiasm, and found himself more at variance with the Cartesian metaphysics, he used to declare that it had never been the abstractions of Descartes which had attracted him, but the light which his discoveries threw upon the world of natural science; and it is noticeable that he continued to teach the more strictly physical treatises of Descartes at Cambridge with approval long after the more metaphysical had come to be to him only a point of departure for criticism and debate.[22] Yet there was much else in Descartes to explain More's early idolatry. Psychologically, the development of the two men had been similar enough that More (like many another young thinker of that generation) could read in the autobiographical *Discourse* of Descartes the story of his own struggle. As they were alike in their youthful development, so they were similar in their more mature attitude toward the world without. In both, the reader is conscious of a sense of withdrawal; to each the life of the mind was all-important; as Descartes shut himself away from the world in order to find the meaning of the world, so More felt in Christ's College a little microcosm of the universe. Neither

[22] This may be seen in the comments in his letters; he was teaching the *Dioptrics* and the *Meteors* in the late 1670's. In this connection, a remark of Ward's in the unpublished second part of his *Life of More* (*Christ's College Mss., Dd. 7. 12,* f. 142) is of interest. Ward unfortunately does not complete his examination of this point; the manuscript breaks off abruptly at the beginning of his discussion of More's change in regard to Cartesianism; but in one of the last sentences, Ward remarks that until the end More continued to admire Descartes as a physicist, "but Des Cartes his Metaphysicks I could never perceive that he much admired."

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desired nor accepted advancement, though both might easily have obtained it; there was to neither any true reality in these "toys and gaudy shews." It was inevitable, too, that the Platonic element in Cartesianism should have appealed profoundly to More, and indeed, one marked characteristic of early English Cartesianism is its Platonization. In Descartes' theory of innate ideas More found repetition of beliefs to which he had already given utterance in *Psychodia Platonica;* and the proof of the existence of God from the idea of God in the mind of man remained throughout More's life one of his clinching arguments. Into the Cartesian *intuition* also, he read Platonic implications not necessarily existent in it; and in Descartes' account of the ecstatic experience which gave inspiration to his whole life, he discovered another example of the *Illumination* he had found in Porphyry's account of the ecstatic experience of Plotinus. Most of all, he declared again and again, Cartesianism was, of all the systems he had yet discovered, the most consonant with the rational mind of man and the phenomena of nature. "You will say," he declared to Thomas Vaughan, in the controversy they had upon the subject,[23] "I am become so great a Cartesian that I begin to think but meanly of Platonism. A wise inference! as if *divine* and *naturall* knowledge were inconsistent."

In that sentence, perhaps, we find the clue to the real secret of More's devotion to Cartesianism. By nature a man surpassingly devout, he sought in a troubled generation assurance, less for himself—for his fundamental beliefs remained unshaken—than for those committed to his care. In spite of his apparent retirement and withdrawal from the world of political ambitions, he never for a moment was unaware of the great intellectual and scientific revolution going on about him. He was in complete sympathy with the desire of his age to understand the natural world and impatient of reactionary tendencies to oppose the cause of scientific investigation. The phenomena of nature and the rational mind of man—these were the two means by which man might come closer and closer to a real understanding of the meaning of the universe. Descartes offered him at the time when he most needed it, intellectual assurance of the validity of his own feelings in regard to the nature of man and the phenomena of the universe; and it is not unnatural

[23] *The Second Lash of Alazonomastix*, Cambridge, 1651, p. 42.

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that his references to Descartes during this early period should be couched in hyperbole. He is "that sublime and subtile Mechanick";[24] his teaching "the most admirable Philosophy that has appeared in these European parts since Noah's floud";[25] "I love this Gentleman," he declares,[26] "for his excellent and transcendent naturall Wit. . . . This is he that I call the Wisest Naturalist that ever came to my hands. . . . Other naturall Philosophies in respect of Des Cartes his, are even lesse then a few chips of wood in a well-erected Fabrick." The first of the many controversies in which More was engaged—that with the man upon whose shoulders the mantle of Robert Fludd had fallen, Thomas Vaughan, twin-brother of Henry Vaughan, the poet—was caused by Vaughan's criticism of Descartes. The quarrel began with the publication by Vaughan, in 1650, under the *nom-de-plume* "Eugenius Philalethes," of a group of magico-mystical writings in which he set forth his esoteric philosophy, which, so far as it may be defined, was a combination of the neo-Platonism of Paracelsus and the Hermetic philosophers with Pico's cabbalism. Two of the pamphlets falling by chance into More's hands, he recognized in their unknown author a student of his own favorites, and saw in marked degree the dangers of too intoxicating draughts from these fountains. In a mood of mingled interest and exasperation, More took up his pen, and under the name "Alazonomastix Philalethes" (he, too, a "lover of truth," but a "scourge of pretensions") wrote a reply.[27]

The More-Vaughan controversy is worthy a study of its own and offers much of interest to one who would see in this age the difference between what More would have called *rational* Platonism, and the debased form too common in alchemical laboratories; it contains, too, a fine defence of true science against the pseudo-magic of such men as Fludd and Vaughan,[28] in which More belabors the preten-

[24] Preface to the "Infinitie of Worlds," in *Complete Poems*, p. 88.

[25] *Observations upon Anthroposophia Theomagica*, 1650, p. 88.

[26] *The Second Lash of Alazonomastix*, 1651, pp. 41-3.

[27] A complete bibliography of the controversy may be found in *The Philosophical Works of Henry More*, edited by Flora Isabel MacKinnon. The British Museum possesses a copy of the whole series bound in one volume, which was at some time closely read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. It contains some of his most characteristic and interesting marginalia.

[28] *Observations*, pp. 26 ff.

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ders of his day for their refusal to follow the paths of *truth* and *reason*. But the real significance of the controversy in the history of thought is to be found particularly in the discipleship of Descartes which is implied throughout More's treatises. He would never have taken up the cudgels so stoutly had it not been for certain scornful phrases which Vaughan employed in speaking of the new French philosophy. "I tell thee," More declares in his *Second Lash*,[29] "that thy rash and unworthy abuse of Des Cartes did move me to write so as I did." And he declares again:[30] "I verily think I should not have medled at all, if you had spared your incivilities to Des Cartes, whose worth and skill in naturall Philosophy . . . I can not but honour and admire. He is rayled at, but not confuted by any that I see, in his naturall Philosophy, and that's the thing I magnified him for. Though his Metaphysicks have wit and strength enough too, and he hath made them good against his opposers."[31]

The height of More's early Cartesian fervor may be seen in the series of letters which he addressed to his master, the first bearing the date, December, 1648.[32] He subscribes himself "cultor devotissimus." "I can assure you," he writes, "that I have felt not less exultation in apprehending and appreciating your admirable

[29] Page 41.

[30] Pages 62-3.

[31] In his *Man Mouse Taken in a Trap*, p. 114, Vaughan replies to More: "He asks me if I did ever read Des Chartes? Why, Mastix is this Authour so hard to come by? didst thou ever read a Horn-book, Sirrah? I tell thee, Des Chartes is a whim and a wham, without one *why* or *wherefore*. A fellow that invented ridiculous principles of his own, but hath cast them into such a method, that they have a seeming dependency, and thou dost take his Knavery for his Reason."

[32] *Henrici Mori Epistolae quatuor ad Renatum Des-Cartes: cum Responsis Clarissimi Philosophi ad duas priores, cumque aliis aliquot Epistolis, quarum Occasiones, Argumenta, Ordinem versa pagina tibi commonstrabit*, Londini, 1662. More published the letters in his *Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, 1662, pp. 53-138. They were previously published by Clerselier in his edition of Descartes' *Lettres*. The complete series included Clerselier's original letter to More, with More's reply; four letters of More to Descartes, with two replies; a fragment of an unfinished response to More's third letter. The letters have not been translated into English, though Tulloch in his *Rational Theology and Christian Mysticism*, II, 369 ff., translates some parts of them. Two of More's letters were translated into French in *Lettres de Descartes*, Paris, 1724, II, 27-55.

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theories than yourself in discovering them, and that these fine productions of your genius are really as dear to me as if they had been the children of my own brain. In a sense, indeed, they appear to be my own—so entirely have my own thoughts run in the same channel in which your fertile mind has anticipated me." And he adds: "All the great leaders of philosophy who have ever existed, or who may exist, are mere pigmies in comparison with your transcendant genius." Yet even in these earliest letters, it is clear that More is not so completely enraptured that he has lost the power of reason. With certain presuppositions of Descartes he cannot agree; but the enthusiasm of the disciple insists that it must be merely a matter of definition; let them understand each other completely and their agreement must be perfect. When, however, in 1655, after the death of Descartes, his editor Claude Clerselier begged permission to publish the correspondence with More, the letter which More wrote suggests that some of the old enthusiasm is gone. Yet in spite of marked divergences, he is still the champion of Descartes, particularly in his denial of that charge so frequently brought against the French philosopher—that his teaching led to atheism. "There is no philosophy," declares More,[33] "except perhaps the Platonic, which so firmly shuts the door against atheism." During the next few years, however, More became increasingly conscious not only of marked differences between the Cartesian philosophy and his own, but also of the effect which Cartesianism tended to produce upon youthful minds. In his letters one may observe his impressions as he sees one after another of his youthful students going the whole way in accepting the implications of the Cartesian mechanism. By 1667 More had beheld so clearly the dangers of unchecked Cartesianism that, in the most popular of his works, the *Divine Dialogues,* he sketched in thinly-veiled allegory the situation in which he and Cudworth found themselves with regard to two particular pupils who, at first "Cartesians" merely in More's sense of the word, had gone to extremes and been carried away, the one by "enthusiasm," the other by Cartesian mechanism.[34] In his

[33] Quoted, Tulloch, II, 373.

[34] More's letters make it clear that he intended the characters in the *Divine Dialogues* as portraits of his own acquaintances. The chief speaker has long been recognized as Cudworth, while Bathynous is More himself. The two chief disputants, Cuphophron, the "airy-minded Cartesian," and

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preface to the dialogues, More shows himself as standing now in opposition to "that so much admired philosopher, Renatus Des Cartes, on whom persons so well versed in philosophical speculation have bestowed so high encomiums." By 1671 the change had become still more marked; the playfulness which characterized much of the *Divine Dialogues* has disappeared, and in his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum,*[35] More identifies Descartes in most disparaging terms with atheists and materialists, using all his skill to disprove what now seems to him the central thesis of Cartesianism.

Such was More's development; and it was on the whole characteristic of the development of much of the academic Cartesianism in England. In the 1640's and 1650's the liberal theologians and philosophers saw in Descartes a savior; by 1675 his philosophy was more often condemned than praised. Yet at the same time that philosophical Cartesianism was losing hold on the academic mind, something which may broadly be called "Cartesianism" was achieving a remarkable effect on the popular mind; and although the disciples of Descartes departed from his teaching, they never entirely recovered from his influence. What, then, we may ask, aside from technical philosophical ideas, did early English readers of Descartes find in the "new" philosophy, which, interpreted, was to be impressed unalterably upon English thought and English literature?

III

Leaving out of consideration technical assumptions in philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, which separately and in conjunction produced important and easily recognizable effects in English thought, the student who reads at random in the works of early English Cartesians becomes aware of certain characteristic ideas which appear and reappear. Sometimes all are to be found in the writings of one man, who continues his adherence to one after he has ceased to hold the others; sometimes a follower adopted one, unaware or unmindful of the consequences which that assumption had in the whole Cartesian system.

There was, first of all, the idea which has been here earlier suggested—the impetus given by Descartes to the supporters of

Hylobares, the mechanist and materialist, were drawn from two of More's favorite pupils, John Finch and Thomas Baines.

[35] *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, 1671.

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modernism in the warfare of *ancient* versus *modern*. That aspect of Cartesianism is emphasized frequently in England, particularly by early members of the Royal Society and by Baconians in general. The French philosopher's cool and impersonal disregard of the past, his break with history and tradition, offered valuable ammunition to those who were coming more and more to place their emphasis upon the future rather than the past and were thus developing in England the idea of progress. But this effect of Cartesianism has not infrequently received attention from critics and has been discussed both in surveys of the development of the idea of progress, and in more specific studies of the background of Swift's *Battle of the Books*.[36]

Few, however, seem to have noticed the effect of the Cartesian idea of indefinite extension upon one of the most significant of all seventeenth-century conceptions: the idea of infinity, the problem of the possibility of an infinite number of worlds, or of a universe infinitely extended. In this conception lies the key to the characteristic form taken in England, at least, by the idea of progress, and to one of the most profound changes which occurred in seventeenth-century thought; for the real change in men's conceptions of themselves and of the universe came less through Copernicanism than through the expansion of the boundaries of thought through the idea of infinity. A half-century before Leibniz, many of his most characteristic theories on the subject may be found on English soil: and, a fact which his critics have not observed, but which is clear to the reader of his letters and of his earliest periodical publications, he was himself the first to recognize that indebtedness.[37] With this larger idea is involved to some extent that constant problems among Leibniz students—the question of the priority of Leibniz or Newton in the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus; but the question itself is more than a mathematical one. For our purposes at present, it may be sufficient to suggest that the English

[36] Cf. for example, J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*, 1921; Anne Elizabeth Burlingame, "*The Battle of the Books*" *in its Historical Setting*, 1920; R. F. Jones, "The Background of *The Battle of the Books*," *Washington University Studies*, 1920; Hubert Gillot, *Le Querelle des anciens et des modernes en France*, Paris, 1914.

[37] I am presenting the evidence for this statement in a forthcoming study. See also "The Real Scholar Gipsy," in the *Yale Review*, Jan. 1929.

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thinkers who from about 1640 were developing the idea of infinity found their arguments less in Bruno, as might be expected, than in Descartes; and that the tendency to conservatism in the later ideas of these thinkers and even their final denial of infinity was an inevitable part of the anti-Cartesian reaction.[38]

The most obvious and far-reaching influence of early Cartesianism, however, seems to have been in that emphasis which we today call broadly *psychological.* It was in its supposed insistence upon the *thinking-self* as the evidence of existence that Cartesianism appealed particularly to the youthful. From his works enthusiasts read an exaltation of the value of individual experience, an importance of individual thought as the criterion of existence which Descartes was far from intending. During the years which follow one detects a new introspection, a new realization of the individual self as the important thing in the universe. The exaggeration and distortion of real Cartesianism implicit in such an interpretation is obvious enough; this is not the only philosophy which has suffered from popularization. But popularization there undoubtedly was, proceeding through a series of both positive and negative treatises of which perhaps such a work as *A Voyage to the World of Cartesius*[39] is characteristic, and of which the most influential and popular was Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds,* a work published a dozen times in English translation, and designed to bring philosophy from academic cloisters into the salons of ladies. The effect upon feminine society was particularly noteworthy; if the fair Marchioness of M. Fontenelle could understand Cartesianism, so could the ladies of England; and works continued to appear in French, Italian, and English interpreting in popular style not only Descartes but Newton.

What effect this popular Cartesianism, with its tendency to introspection and self-emphasis had upon the history of English literature must remain for the present a matter of conjecture. In how far, for example, was popular "Cartesianism" responsible for the steadily growing tendency to self-analysis and self-glorification in

[38] This conception I am treating in detail in a forthcoming study.

[39] *A Voyage to the World of Cartesius,* published in England in 1692 from the French original which appeared in 1691, evidently as a reply to the earlier *Le Monde de M. Descartes,* 1664. *The Voyage to the World of Cartesius* suggests how common such treatments had been.

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pre-Romantic literature? How much did the compelling autobiographical account of Descartes in his *Principles* have to do with the interest in psychological autobiography in the late seventeenth century, and with the growth of the psychological novel? The influence of Descartes upon the philosophy of "mad Madge of Newcastle," for instance, is clear; but how much had that influence to do with her extraordinary autobiographical fragment? Two important women novelists, Aphra Behn and Elizabeth Carter, both translated Fontenelle's popularization of Descartes, and their prefaces offer much food for thought, but no one has yet inquired what effect that enthusiasm for Descartes had upon their work in the novel.[40] These are matters which invite further examination.

Equally interesting is the question of what effect so-called Cartesianism had upon *method* in literary composition. Certainly the insistence that the process of thought has a logic like that of mathematics, that it is characterized by order and regularity, that its development should be from simple to less simple, that its touchstones are clarity and ludicity—all this was not without its effect upon English literature. There are others besides Henry More who, in prefaces to works written after reading Descartes, exhibit a new consciousness of literary method; but his case will serve for illustration. It seems hardly possible that the *Antidote Against Atheism*,[41] More's first Cartesian treatise, is the work of the same writer who in the *Philosophical Poems* struggled through a morass of tradition, whose every sentence was weighed down with traditional learning and appeal to past authority, who shows no hint of organization or development in his structure. "I did on purpose," he declares in the preface to the *Antidote*, "abstaine from reading any treatises concerning this subject, that I might the more undisturbedly write the easy emanations of mine own mind, and not be carried off from what should naturally fall from my self, by prepossessing any thoughts by the inventions of others." And again, his phrases are almost an echo of Descartes' own words: "I have writ therefore after no copy but *the eternall characters of the mind of man, and the known phœnomena of nature.*" That he is con-

[40] My pupil, Miss Joyce Horner of Smith College, has made a study of this problem in connection with a work on the growth of conscious feminism in the early novel, some of the results of which I hope she will make public.

[41] The *Antidote Against Atheism* was published in 1652.

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scious of the novelty of what he is doing, and of the departure from his former more archaic method is nowhere more clear than in the conclusion of the introduction, where he says: "For that which did embolden me to publish this present treatise, was not . . . because I flatter'd my self in a conceit that it was better or more plausible, then what is already in the hand of men; *but that it was of a different sort,* and has its peculiar serviceableness and advantages apart and distinct from others. . . . For though I cannot promise my reader that I shall entertaine him with so much winning rhetorick and pleasant philology, as hee may find elsewhere, yet I hope hee will acknowledge, if his mind be unprejudic'd, that he meets with some sound and plain Reason, and *an easy and cleare Method.*" [42]

Finally we may raise the question as to the responsibility of Descartes for the remarkable change which came over English prose style during the last half of the seventeenth century, a change so marked that Addison and Steele, Defoe and Swift, seem to us to live in another world from that of Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne. Much has been said by critics of that change and of the complex causes which were responsible for it: the gradual consciousness of a cleavage between the language of poetry and the language of prose; the breaking down through its own weight of the rhetorical tradition; the effect of the personal essay of Montaigne and the homely metaphor of the English Bible; the centering of man's attention on reality in the days of the Civil War. Bacon's part, not only through his *Essays,* but through his insistence upon the need of a new method and a consequent departure from the past, has long been emphasized, perhaps over-emphasized, for Bacon until the end remained a classicist in language and in literature; in spite of his occasional homely metaphors, the very passage in which he condemns stylists [43] is filled with his own love of language, with memories of his "exquisite travail in the languages original," a "delight in their manner of style and phrase, and an admiration for that kind of writing," an instinctive love of "eloquence and variety in discourse as the fittest and forciblest access into the capacity of the vulgar mind"; and the sentence in which Bacon inveighs against the rhetoric of the schoolmen is perhaps the loveliest defence of rhetoric in English, with his fine discrimination in

[42] The italics are mine.

[43] *The Advancement of Learning,* I, 3, iii.

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words, his own wistful affection for the "choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses." Students are aware of the passage in the *History of the Royal Society*[44] in which Sprat shows how clearly the members had faced the situation, how aware they were of the dangers of contemporary prose style to scientific accuracy, of "the ill effects of this superfluity of talking [which] have already overwhelmed most other Arts and Professions," so that, did they not carefully restrain it, "the whole spirit and vigor of their Design had been soon eaten out, by the luxury and redundance of speech." The ornaments of speaking, Sprat continues, are now "generally chang'd to worse uses; they make the Fancy disgust the best things, if they come sound and unadorn'd; they are in open defiance against Reason; professing, not to hold much correspondence with that; but with its slaves, the Passions." Conscious of all this, Sprat declares, the members of the Royal Society have taken their stand, and they utter through him a "constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style; to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many things, almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions, clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness as they can; and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits or Scholars." In this utterance critics find constantly the influence of Bacon; and without doubt it is there. But what of Descartes? Was it Bacon who constantly insisted upon Reason, who begged for "mathematicall plainness"—Bacon whose great failure lay in his lack of appreciation of mathematics—for a "close, naked, natural way of speaking?" Certainly a complete study of the development of English prose style, as of the peculiar and significant changes which occurred in the mood and temper of English literature during the last part of the seventeenth century, must pay more attention than has hitherto been the case both to the theories and the practice of René Descartes.

Smith College.

[44] *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge.* By Tho. Sprat, D. D., London, 1702, sect. XX, pp. 111-13.

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WHAT WAS CHAUCER'S AIM IN THE *KNIGHT'S TALE*?

By J. R. Hulbert

Although the relation of the *Knight's Tale* to its source has been discussed extensively, no one has offered a tenable explanation as to the principle which determined Chaucer's alteration of his original. To be sure, most critics represent his achievement as an undoubted "improvement" over Boccaccio's poem, but though their argument that the omission of the epic machinery and the simplification of the whole to the essential story of the two lovers is obvious enough, they do not attempt to explain why Chaucer equalized Palamon with Arcite instead of leaving him in the secondary position which he occupies in the *Teseide* or why he omitted the details which make Emelye a natural, attractive young girl in the original. Whether the epic method was an asset or a liability, it can hardly be maintained that the management of the central action by Chaucer is a positive improvement over Boccaccio's plotting. In the *Teseide* there is one hero, Arcita, who loves and is eventually loved by Emilia, a young woman characterized by a natural coquetry, an admiration for a good-looking young knight and love and sympathy for the wounded hero. Palemone is a secondary figure, necessary to the plot because he brings about the death of Arcita. The story is a tragedy, caused by the mistake of Arcita in praying to Mars rather than to Venus. In Chaucer's story there are two heroes, who are practically indistinguishable from each other, and a heroine, who is merely a name. In the Italian poem it is possible to feel the interest in hero and heroine which is necessary if one is to be moved by a story. The reader sympathizes with Arcita throughout and feels the pity of his death. In Chaucer's version, on the other hand, despite efforts of some scholars to show that there is a difference between Palamon and Arcite, it is hard to believe that anyone can sympathize particularly with either hero or care which one wins Emelye. The reason for making these changes and most of the other alterations which distinguish Chaucer's story from Boccaccio's comprises the problem considered in the following pages.

Before entering upon a discussion of that problem perhaps we should devote some attention to the views hitherto expressed on

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the relation of Chaucer's poem to its source. Though, in general, opinion has favored Chaucer's version, it should be noticed that three scholars in their publications definitely preferred Boccaccio's (Sandras, Ebert,[1] and Kissner),[2] that Miss M. Bentinck Smith apparently held about the same view [3] and that Professors Legouis and A. W. Ward cautiously refrained from expressing an opinion.[4] Moreover, it is to be observed that most writers on the subject have been Englishmen or Americans who would naturally feel a sort of filial loyalty to Chaucer. The argument which they usually make in favor of Chaucer's version may well be stated in Professor Root's words:

> The *Teseide* is by no means a contemptible composition; but, considering the slightness of the plot, it is surely much too long. Nor is the essentially romantic, sentimental character of the tale in keeping with its elaborate epic machinery.[5]

Of course it is true that modern readers feel but little interest in imitation epic, and it may well be that Boccaccio erred in selecting such a plot for epic treatment. But his actual use of the epic devices is really good and effective; and if one has any tolerance for such development at all, one can enjoy his account of the tournament and funeral games. Professor Mather gives an entirely erroneous impression when he writes: "Chaucer immediately swept away this tawdry epic ornament, and reduced the story to its true proportions as a romance of chivalry." [6] Indeed, so good are many of Boccaccio's details that Professor Cummings, who holds the conventional view of Chaucer's superiority, prints a considerable list

[1] For references, see Miss Hammond's *Chaucer*, p. 273.

[2] A. Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, p. 63.

[3] *The Prologue and the Knight's Tale*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. lxxxiv.

[4] Émile Legouis, *Geoffroy Chaucer*, Paris, 1900, pp. 112-3. He says that it is natural for Englishmen to prefer Chaucer but emphasizes his opinion that the best things in the *Knight's Tale* are the parts most closely translated from the Italian. Ward, "Chaucer," *English Men of Letters Series*, print of 1907, p. 124.

[5] R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, 1906, p. 166. Gaspary (*History of Italian Literature*, Italian edition, II, 93), Ten Brink and others have made the same points.

[6] *Chaucer's Prologue*, etc., 1899, p. lxx.

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of things which he thinks Chaucer might well have used.[7] It may be that lack of time or belief that English readers would not care for the epic development caused Chaucer to omit the epic devices, but it is very doubtful that he did so because he thought such omission improved the story. The basic reason, however, for the ready acceptance of the opinion that Chaucer's version is better than Boccaccio's was stated some years ago by Professor Greenlaw:

> The tale gets tedious at times, especially when Chaucer describes the preliminaries to the contest; but if the reader becomes a little weary, he has only to reflect on the immense amount of material which Chaucer rejected from his source, and a proper spirit of appreciation will no doubt carry him on his way with resignation, if not with rejoicing.[8]

That, I believe, is the truth. Chaucer's tale is indeed tiresome to us, and so we are ready to believe that, as it is much shorter than the original, the latter must be almost unendurable.

The supposition that the *Teseide* is much like the *Knight's Tale* but more tedious because four times as long is incorrect. In the first place, the chief causes of lack of interest in Chaucer's tale are not to be found in the original. The greatest weakness in the *Knight's Tale* is the lack of characterization of the chief persons in the story. As Greenlaw says, "Palamon, Arcite, Emily, are all lay figures: we have no real acquaintance with them, no impression of individuality."[9] In the original, on the other hand, the char-

[7] "The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio," *University of Cincinnati Studies*, Cincinnati, 1916, Vol. X, Part 2, pp. 135-7.

[8] *Selections from Chaucer*, Chicago, n. d., p. 254.

[9] *Loc. cit.* Following Professor Tatlock, some scholars have seen a distinction between Palamon and Arcite (*Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, London, 1907, pp. 231-2 and R. K. Root, *op. cit.*, p. 170). The first part of Tatlock's discussion must have been an oversight; it has been corrected justly by Dodd (*Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, 1913, p. 238, note). One is astonished, however, after reading Dodd's excellent statement of Boccaccio's emphasis on Arcite, to find him saying: "From certain hints in Boccaccio, he [Chaucer] has developed the character of Palamon, thus making an extremely effective contrast with the character of Arcite." Actually it seems to me incredible that a reader of Chaucer's poem can see any conscious differentiation of Palamon from Arcite. All the distinctions between the two knights which Professor Tatlock sees are not differences in characterization but his own deductions from details of the story which Chaucer could not change without radically

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acters are distinct. To be sure we become aware of the differences between Palemone and Arcita not because the author definitely distinguishes one from the other but because their functions are so unlike that one never thinks of comparing them. Because Arcita is the principal character of the *Teseide,* the romance chiefly concerns itself with him, shows him to have all the traits we associate with a hero of a romance, and so gains for him the reader's sympathy and interest. Palemone, of less heroic mould, is merely the friend and confidant, like the second young man that often accompanies the principal actor in a drama. The merest rough summary of the *Teseide* would display these facts. Thus the entire fourth book is devoted to Arcita; in the fifth when Palemone in a wild, unreasonable fashion seeks a fight with him, Arcita shows self-restraint and maturity of judgment in arguing with his foolish friend and trying to bring him to reason. In the ninth book, again, he plays the principal part; mortally hurt, he is espoused to Emelia, who loves him. Everyone grieves for Arcita. In the tenth book he urges Emelia to accept Palemone after his death, showing his old love for his comrade. The eleventh book is devoted to Arcita's funeral.

altering the plot. On the other hand, such differences between Palemone and Arcita as do exist in the *Teseide* as a result of the relative importance of their rôles and the space given them by Boccaccio are intentionally eliminated by Chaucer.

It is amusing to observe that those who see differences between Palamon and Arcite do not agree among themselves. Tatlock characterizes Arcite as "an agreeable spectacle—in his cheeriness and youthfulness and in his falling into lover's dumps." Dr. Egg calls him "der grübelnde, besonnenere, melancholische Arcite" ("Chaucer's *Knight's Tale.* Eine Literarische Skizze," *Jahresbericht der K. K. Staatsrealschule in Marburg,* 1911-12, p. 14). Tatlock regards Palamon less favorably: he is "more jealous and less affectionate toward his cousin; despairs readily when discovered by Theseus; is ungenerous towards Arcite; has no desire for victory, but only cares for the possession of Emily; and cares no more what becomes of her after his death than the Pardoner about the souls of his dupes after theirs. . . . Palamon's only amiable traits are his courage, and his grief after Arcite's death, and that seems to be only conventional" (*op. cit.,* p. 232). Professor Mather says: "Palamon is less headstrong . . . in Arnold's phrase, more sweetly reasonable than the impulsive Arcite, yet either of the lovers is very much less a person than, for instance, our friend Chauntecleer" (in his edition of the *Prolog and Knight's Tale,* 1899, p. lxxiii). Miss Grace Hadow, however, expresses the truth when she says that the two might be twin brothers, "so closely do they resemble each other" (*Chaucer and His Times,* 1914, p. 75).

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Hence the reader's interest and sympathy is centered on Arcita as it is on the hero of all romances medieval or modern.[10]

Emilia also is not in Boccaccio a mere name, as she is in Chaucer. She is a natural young girl, with a certain naïve, unconcealed coquetry which gives her charm. As Professor Dodd and Professor Cummings have very well presented the Emelia of Boccaccio in contrast to that of Chaucer, I need say no more about her.[11]

Finally, there is in Chaucer's tale a curious coarseness of style which is not always present but in some places appears with an effect similar to the rudeness of a Middle English translation of a French metrical romance. Miss M. Bentinck Smith has noticed this peculiarity and expressed it pointedly:

> Some of Chaucer's minor touches are true to life in the England of Chaucer's day, but hardly consonant with the chivalry that might be expected in a romantic epic. Thus in Boccaccio, Palamon, having broken his prison, finds Arcite sleeping in the wood. He respects his friend's slumber, and salutes him, on his waking, as a knight and a gentleman, and Arcite, on the other hand, consents only with reluctance to a decision at arms. In Chaucer, however, Palemon overhears Arcite's soliloquy in the grove, and rushes upon his foe with words which must for ever (*sic*) exclude him from the ranks of those who "nevere yet no vileynye ne sayde." The character of Theseus has also been coarsened.[12]

These are but specimens illustrative of a general characteristic: Boccaccio's style throughout is suave, refined, and in good taste; Chaucer's is at times of the same level, but not infrequently degenerates into a roughness that is out of keeping with the story.

So much it seemed necessary to present in order to make it clear that Chaucer's reconstruction of his original is not readily understandable as a simple "improvement" of its literary effectiveness. Whether the *Knight's Tale* or the *Teseide* is the more attractive to us is really unimportant. Chaucer wrote for a medieval audience: the alterations which he made were planned for their effect on medieval readers, and it is quite probable that he succeeded in

[10] What I have said above is, I believe, obvious fact. Statements inconsistent with it can be found, but the truth is expressed by W. G. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-9, note.

[11] Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 ff; Cummings, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxv. Dr. Cummings, however, regards Chaucer's treatment of the encounter in the wood as an improvement (*op. cit.*, pp. 139-40). I need not say that Miss Smith seems to me entirely right.

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making a version more pleasing to them than the original would have been. Specifically, I believe that Chaucer saw in the *Teseide* a plot which, with some alterations, could be used effectively to present one of those problems of love which the votaries of courtly love enjoyed considering. The problem is not, however, as Professor Dodd says, "the conflict between love and friendship."[13] Such a conflict actually is presented in Boccaccio's poem, where the strength of friendship prevents the two cousins from expressing any marked opposition to each other until the duel in the forest, and even then Arcite tries to keep from fighting. That in Chaucer's poem their friendship is not strong enough to make any real contest with their love has been observed by Kissner and Egg:

> Die Grundidee des Gedichtes, den Conflict der Liebe und Freundschaft, verstand der englische Dichter nicht. . . . Das Freundschafts Verhältniss, welches in der Teseide so sehr im Vordergrund steht, tritt bei ihm ganz zurück; hier dominirt durchaus die Leidenschaft.[14]
>
> Kampf zwischen Freundschaft und Liebensleidenschaft bildet den Kern der Fabel. Aber nicht gleichwertig stellt Chaucer diese beiden Motive dar, sondern er lässt in diesen Kampf die Freundschaft zurück treten und rückt als eigentliches, herrschendes Motive die Liebe in den Vordergrund.[15]

In effect the only function of the element of friendship in Chaucer's story is to enable him to make the point that love cuts the ties of friendship with hardly any trouble. Indeed Chaucer explicitly concludes that love will have no fellowship (see the passage cited on page 383).

The problem which Chaucer actually presents is one which we can still observe in the life about us today: which of two young men, of equal worth and with almost equal claims, shall (or should) win the lady? Stated in such simple terms, the problem may seem foolish, but to readers who could be interested in such questions of love as those which Professor Neilson mentions incidentally here and there in his monograph on the sources of the fifteenth-century poem *The Court of Love* or the ones which Chaucer, himself, propounds at the end of the *Franklin's Tale* and of the first part of the *Knight's Tale*,[16] this problem would be no doubt poignant—as real as the

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

[14] *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, p. 63.

[15] Egg, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[16] A similar problem is basic in the *Parlement of Foules;* see Professor Manly's article in *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, L, 279-90.

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questions discussed in modern "problem" novels are to us. Moreover Chaucer's conclusion that Palamon should get the lady because he had the sense to petition Venus rather than Mars for success must have seemed both a satisfactory and an ingenious solution to those interested in the court of love cult.

In the presentation of this problem the epic machinery was not needed, was indeed in the way. Hence Chaucer rightly discarded it. To keep the problem entirely in the field of the intellect and prevent the reader's feelings from interfering with a rational consideration of it, Palamon and Arcite must be equalized.[17]

[17] Here perhaps we should notice Professor Dodd's theory of Chaucer's dominating purpose in the changes that he made. "By the abridgment of the tale, Boccaccio's diffuseness is avoided; by the sharp distinction drawn between the characters of Palamon and Arcite, attention is drawn to them; and by leaving Emilia a bright and lovely picture, yet on the whole characterless, the same effect of concentrating the reader's attention on the two cousins is obtained. The total result is that which Chaucer was, doubtless, aiming at: namely, to heighten the impression that the love passion of the two heroes was not only earnest but absolutely genuine" (*op. cit.*, p. 245). Perhaps the simplest answer to this judgment is the following remark of Miss Smith: "The love for Emelye which gets the better of the friendship between the two young knights, is, even in Chaucer, as conventional a type of the passion as ever inspired trouvère or troubadour. The jealousy which overcomes their life-long affection for each other is not the real thing, but an artificial and deliberate assumption of the feeling in accordance with the etiquette of a court of love" (*loc. cit.*). Certainly if Chaucer had been aiming at realism, he would have made his three characters so definitely individual that no one could have missed his purpose.

Professor Cummings suggests a different basic reason for the changes that Chaucer made. "If the main elements of the Italian poet's work were to be gracefully incorporated into the series of stories told by the pilgrims in the frame-work of the *Canterbury Tales*, they had to be very much condensed. And compression meant inevitably a change in the manner of treatment, if the story of Palamone and Arcita was to be rendered with anything of artistic beauty. Chaucer could no longer indulge the analytical tendency he pursued in his handling of *Filostrato*" (*op. cit.*, p. 125). This theory would certainly be worth considering were it not for the fact that it is universally believed that Chaucer wrote his story of Palamon and Arcite before he conceived the plan of the *Canterbury Tales*. Thus Tatlock gives the dates 1384-6 for the *Knight's Tale* and 1387-1400 for the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole (*op. cit.*, p. 82); Professor Lowes puts the tale still earlier (*PMLA.*, XX, 841-54); Professor Root says 1380-82 (*op. cit.*, p. 167); Professor French, "not much before 1385" (*A Chaucer Handbook*, New York, 1927, p. 210). If these opinions are correct, Chaucer wrote the

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If, with this idea in mind, one were to make a minute examination of the two poems, I believe that none of the changes made by Chaucer would prove inconsistent with it, and many of them would be clearly motivated by it. Here I shall attempt to call attention merely to a few outstanding facts. In the original no contest between the two lovers develops until the fifth book. That a clash between them is inevitable a reader may see in Book III (*e. g.*, stanzas 17-18, 22-24, 33, 37-38). But they themselves seem entirely unaware of such a contingency. In Chaucer the contest starts and is sharply defined within a few lines after Palamon first sees Emelye. From line 270 to line 328, an entirely original passage, Chaucer develops the clash between the two sworn brothers. He has added the element of brotherhood, presumably to strengthen the relation between the two and their claims on each other; in the *Teseide,* the young men are merely relatives, friends, and comrades in arms. As a result of the clash between the two, emphasized by their relationship, Chaucer indicates early in the story the problem he is laying before his reader: who is to win Emelye.

In III, 83 of the *Teseide,* Emelia sees Arcita ride away and pities him. In IV, 56 she recognizes in Arcita, disguised as a page, the young man she once saw riding away. Such details Chaucer removes because they constitute a personal relation between Emelye and Arcite which might cause readers to feel that Emelye was attracted to him and that therefore Arcite should win her. On the other hand, Chaucer's own is the reference to the technical term, the "loveres maladye of Hereos" (ll. 516-17), which Professor Lowes has explained elaborately and which is a clear indication that Chaucer's mind was working on a problem of courtly love.

Perhaps the greatest alteration in details is the scene in which Palemone finds Arcita in the woods. In the *Teseide* they greet each other in friendly fashion, rejoice at their meeting, and each tells his experiences. Then Palemone mentions his love for Emilia, says that both of them cannot have her and concludes:

Knight's Tale **untrammelled by any idea of the length reasonable for a tale in a collection, and therefore chose to condense his original for some reason other than the one that Dr. Cummings suggests.**

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Perch'io ti prego molto caramente
Che tu consenta che ella sia mia:
E' mi dà il cor di far sì fattamenta,
Se questo fai, che quel che ne disia
Di lei il mio cor n'avrà senza tardanza:
Lasciala dunque a me sol per amanza.[17a]

This request angers Arcita, and he proposes in turn that Palemone resign her to himself ("tuo parente"). Palemone replies that Arcita is not showing the friendliness to him which he had expected in refusing a gift he had requested, and proposes a duel. Arcita attempts to reason with him, but after two long speeches accedes. They start to fight at once, but are interrupted by the chance arrival of Emilia, who calls Teseo. It is not necessary for me to summarize Chaucer's treatment of the episode, as anyone can read it in lines 720 following. Palamon's first speech is violent and contains reference again to sworn brotherhood. ("And art my blood, and *to my conseil sworn.*") Arcite answers with equal harshness, and they agree to fight on the next day. Chaucer comments:

O Cupide, out of all charitee!
O regne, that wolt no felawe have with thee!
Ful sooth is seyd, that love ne lordshipe
Wol noght, hir thankes, have no felaweshipe. (ll. 765 ff.)

In the long speech of Theseus that follows, the attitude of courtly love is stressed. Indeed of one passage (lines 927 ff.), Professor Dodd says: "Nowhere may a better expression of the courtly idea of the god of Love be found than in the words of Theseus."[18]

Once the contest between the two sworn brothers and its relation to the ideas of courtly love have been made clear, there is no need for further emphasis on the point. The prayers to the divinities are retained with little alteration, obviously because they fitted Chaucer's purpose precisely. In particular Palamon follows the course which was from the point of view of courtly love the only right one, in praying to Venus rather than to Mars. Hence his ultimate winning of Emelye must have been regarded by "love's votaries" as the right and logical conclusion. Chaucer, himself, emphasizes the paramount power of Venus in his description of Venus's temple (ll. 1089 ff.).

[17a] Edition of Moutier, 1831, V. 40, p. 163.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

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Here we may notice also the change which Chaucer made in letting Palamon see Emelye first. In considering this matter, scholars frequently mention "poetic justice." Thus Dr. Cummings writes: "But the English poet's sense of poetic justice is by no means negligible"; and after mentioning this particular change, he continues: "The poet appears to be conscious of the principle of first come first serve[d] and so makes the knight who is eventually to win the fair Emelye sure of his title by causing him first to see her in the garden. The solution is thus made more satisfactory to us than the one in the *Teseide* can be."[19] The last part of this comment entirely disregards the essential difference in purpose between the *Teseide* and the *Knight's Tale*. The former is a tragic story of a hero who loves a lady but loses her in death. After the hero's tragic end, the lady accepts his friend as a sort of consolation prize. Author or reader has no thought of "poetic justice" in such a tragic story. But in Chaucer's tale, where the two young men are equalized, the strife between them sharpened and the whole treated as a problem of love, it would have been a mistake to retain a feature which could make the reader dissatisfied with the logic of the outcome. Hence Chaucer rightly made Palamon see Emelye first so that the reader could not feel at the end that Arcite had a claim which in some respect offset Palamon's better judgment in appealing to Venus. Moreover the change enables Chaucer to discuss two minor questions of love—whether the lover who sees a lady first has a better right to her than one who sees her later and what the duties of a sworn brother are in such a case (ll. 288 ff.).

Professor Cummings properly stresses the change from the classic atmosphere of the *Teseide* to the frankly medieval (or realistic) atmosphere of the *Knight's Tale*. This, too, is consistent with Chaucer's aim. He is presenting a problem of love; the classical background and atmosphere have no value in the development of such a problem; it is best that the heroes act as medieval lovers and warriors and that all the details of development be of a sort which will suit and even re-enforce the ideas pertinent to his problem.

It has not seemed to me worth while to develop the interpretation which I am presenting in detail and with full evidence, because no

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

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amount of detail could, or should, convince a reader who is not acquainted with the *Teseide* itself. Those who do read the *Teseide* will determine whether the theory is true or not, from this simple statement and their own observations. In conclusion it may be pertinent to make two points: First, in transforming the *Teseide* into the *Knight's Tale,* Chaucer worked with the same court of love conceptions that he employed in developing his *Troilus and Cressida.*[20] In the *Troilus and Cressida,* these ideas of courtly love made possible, if they did not actually require, expansion of his source; in the *Knight's Tale* they certainly compelled condensation, because in the original too much of the development was not pertinent to the themes of courtly love. Secondly, it is a mistake in the case of these two poems to assert that Chaucer's version is superior to his original or to discuss his "improvements." We can make such judgments only from the point of view of modern men; Chaucer wrote for medieval readers, imbued with certain special theories which are only in a limited degree part of our modes of thought. Probably he did produce a version which pleased a fourteenth-century English audience more that the original would have done. Whether it is more or less attractive to modern readers is actually of no consequence. Obviously in so far as the ideas of courtly love have passed into oblivion since the middle ages, narratives in which they are basic can not appeal to modern taste. In any case, Chaucer is no less great a literary artist because he adapted his work to the tastes and conceptions of his time.

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[20] It is generally agreed that Chaucer wrote these two poems consecutively, and hence it is natural that they should be treated from much the same point of view. Professor Tatlock (*op. cit.*, pp. 232-3) and Dr. Egg (*op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.) have observed an element of satire and ridicule of courtly love in the *Knight's Tale.* Whether this is meant in all the passages mentioned or not, it seems to me clear in the speeches of Theseus, notably ll. 944 ff. On the other hand, there is nothing quite like it in *Troilus and Cressida.* There Pandarus supplies comedy by jesting at his own experiences in love, but there is no suggestion of ridicule of Troilus or Cressida. Perhaps Chaucer in the *Knight's Tale* was becoming somewhat tired of courtly love.

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TOWNELEY, YORK, AND TRUE-COVENTRY

By Frank W. Cady

There is probably in all literature no more perfect example of the growth of literary form than that exhibited by certain of the extant English Mystery plays. Of the five cycles which still exist, wholly or in part, three are especially significant in this connection: York, Towneley, and True-Coventry. It was my privilege some years ago to make a comparative study of the three cycles, centering my investigation upon Towneley. The result was the development of reasons for believing that all three represent entirely distinct growths from the same liturgical source.[1] Any such study must inevitably be concerned with two questions. The first, the main purpose of the study, is that of general relationships between the cycles. Out of it, unless strongly repressed, will inevitably grow the second: the far more vexing and unsatisfactory attempt to determine the limits of the work of various editors within each cycle. The whole text of each cycle is the work of anonymous editors, recasting, shortening, lengthening, entirely rewriting the play to meet the needs of yearly presentation under ever varying conditions. The tests of editorial work, except in one instance, send the investigator into the most elusive pursuit of metrical and rhyme similarities, the significance of which he endeavors to interpret in the light of his own hypothesis. These editorial problems are marvelously kaleidescopic in their quality, and with every variation in viewpoint assume new and marvelous shapes, the better to allure. Each has its own peculiar attraction, but each is probably equally unreal and untrue to the facts in the case. At best, evidence of common phrase and rhyme can but supplement evidence better founded upon external fact; and, at worst, it can lead the unwary into many a blind alley of untruth. It shall, therefore, be my purpose in this paper to direct myself to a

[1] The results of this study are to be found in four papers:

"The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries," *PMLA.*, XXIV, 419-69.

"The Passion Group in Towneley," *MP.*, X, 587-600.

"The Wakefield Group in Towneley," *JEGP.*, XI, 244-62.

"Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays," *JEGP.*, X, 572-84.

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consideration of the first question alone, and to consider the second only in so far as is necessary in order to make clear the first.

In each of these cycles there were at one time the following groups of plays:

I. Plays on Christ's birth, extending from the Annunciation to the interview with the Doctors in the Temple, and preceded by a prologue of Prophets.

II. Plays on Christ's Passion, from the Conspiracy to take Jesus to his Crucifixion.

III. Plays on the Resurrection and Ascension.

Groups II and III have not survived in True-Coventry, but records of the guilds clearly indicate that at one time they existed.[2] A fourth group of plays based upon the Old Testament beginning with the Fall of the Angels is found in York and in Towneley, but not in True-Coventry. Nor is there any evidence that such a group of plays ever existed in that cycle.[3] Further, a gap of twelve leaves in the MS. of Towneley between Ascension and Judgment would seem to indicate a late deletion of plays upon the life of the Virgin, which exist in York and seem by the records to have existed in True-Coventry.

It was my contention in my earlier studies that the plays in groups I and III, as they exist in each of these cycles, certainly came from the same liturgical source [4] and that probably the same was true of the second group,[5] although the loss of this group in True-Coventry and the presence of much editing in both Towneley and York made definite conclusions rather difficult. I also presented reasons for believing that in True-Coventry we have the cycle in a form more nearly like that of the liturgical source than were either York or Towneley.[6] I further agreed with all other writers upon the plays that in the work of one editor of Towneley we had the most mature dramatic writing in the cycles.[7] The evi-

[2] Craig, Hardin, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, EETS., Extra Series, LXXXVII, 1902, xi-xv.
[3] Craig, *op. cit.*, p. xviii; *PMLA.*, XXIV, 433.
[4] *PMLA.*, XXIV, 467.
[5] *MP.*, X, 590 ff.
[6] *PMLA.*, XXIV, 432.
[7] *JEGP.*, XI, 257 ff.

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dence seemed to me to indicate that the same liturgy was in use in York, Coventry, and Wakefield, the home of the Towneley cycle; that this liturgy included plays on Birth, Passion, and Resurrection; and that out of it in each town, growing independently through repeated re-editings, year after year, had come the three cycles. This was a slow and gradual growth, extending through at least two centuries, editor after editor changing, altering, reassigning scenes as the exigencies of presentation demanded, working in whatever verse best suited him, but leaving in most cases, only the slightest evidence of his own personality.[8]

If this theory be correct, and if it be possible to discover evidence of the manner of growth within the three cycles by comparing the more archaic True-Coventry with York and with the fully matured dramatic practice of the supreme dramatist of the cycles in Towneley, some traces should be found of the forces beyond the control of the individual editors who were at work—forces affecting the development of the cycles through a long period of time. Such a comparative study of the cycles should be of great value in discovering the ideas of dramatic presentation which were determining their construction and in deducing therefrom further studies of the effect of these fundamental ideas upon the later drama. I saw three cycles growing up side by side, yet largely independently, out of the same liturgical source; three independent lines of growth governed by the same laws and motivated by the same purpose in a way which appeared to me of the utmost significance in connection with the subsequent drama; and I commenced for myself, as I had the time, the investigation of these significances.

Since my investigations were published, a thesis by Dr. Marie Lyle, entitled "The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles," has appeared. This accepted quite completely my theory that the two cycles and True-Coventry developed out of the same liturgical source, but advanced beyond me in marshalling evidence to prove that the separation in development which I suggested did not exist;[9] holding that, until comparatively late in the vernacular development of the plays, there were no presentations of a cycle at

[8] *PMLA.*, XXIV, 467 ff.

[9] Lyle, Marie C., "The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles," *University of Minnesota, Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 6, June, 1919.

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Wakefield, but that sometime after 1350 and prior to 1390 the vernacular York plays were transported to Wakefield and there began a separate existence. Dr. Lyle believes that in the case of True-Coventry the same conditions existed, but that the plays were carried to Coventry to start their independent career much earlier than was the case in Wakefield. If this be true, the three cycles represent, not three independent growths from the same source, but only one; and there would result little or nothing of value from a comparative study of their development. I have, therefore, undertaken the present study of her conclusions.

These conclusions I have stated rather more baldly than Dr. Lyle ever does, but in their implications, no less accurately. Thus stated they seem, in one fundamental particular, at least, illogical. The prevalence of Mystery plays throughout England is a proved fact. Most of the larger cities and scores of the smaller towns supported them or similar religious plays.[10] It is singular that towns the size of Coventry and Wakefield should have been entirely without them so late as the fourteenth century, especially when the various liturgies must originally have included plays from which they might logically have developed. The logic of circumstances would lead us to expect to find in these cities similar cycles developed independently through a long period of years, rather than an attempt to develop a full-fledged mystery ceremonial at a late date by borrowing a cycle from a neighboring city. The suggestion of late transfer seems on its face absurd, unless it can be substantiated by thoroughly logical and consistent evidence. This it does not seem to me that Dr. Lyle's thesis offers.

The steps in her argument may be summarized as follows:

1. Certain identical plays in York and Towneley, which have always been considered on good grounds to be late borrowings by Towneley from York are, in reality, remnants in Towneley of the original York cycle which have undergone no change since being borrowed by Towneley.[11]

2. The York plays on the Passion are a late addition to the York cycle by a dramatist who depended upon the expanded Northern Passion for his incidents, except in certain particulars in which he in turn expanded the story for dramatic purposes. As the same dramatic expansions are found in Towneley and both Towneley and York agree in occasional phrases and

[10] Chambers, E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II; see appendices for lists of towns in which such plays were presented.

[11] Lyle, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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rhymes with each other and with the Northern Passion, it is evident that the Towneley Passion play was borrowed from York. This must have taken place after 1350, the date of the writing of the expanded Northern Passion.[13]

3. There are certain scenes in the York Passion which do not appear in Towneley, and are derived from the Northern Gospel of Nichodemus. In these instances Towneley must have separated from York before this influence was felt. But it so happens that two of the plays identical in York and Towneley mentioned above have the Northern Gospel as source. We can, therefore, date the time of the separation precisely as occurring during the period covered by the Northern Gospel influence, but before it was completed.[15]

4. But the Northern Gospel furnishes us another clue to editorial work in York, since its stanza markedly influenced the septenar stanza in which a number of the York plays and a portion of one Towneley play were written. Comparative studies of the rhyme schemes of these plays indicate that the editor who incorporated scenes from the Gospel also rewrote a number of plays in this septenar stanza, and thus proved this to have been a late editing in York, rather than, as some have thought, a relic of the York parent cycle.[14]

5. The interrelation of certain meters in York and Towneley, notably the "Burns" stanzas, as shown by comparative studies of rhyme schemes, would indicate that there are in York and Towneley plays of the parent cycle existing little changed, some in York, some in Towneley, six in the identical stanzas.[15]

6. Similarities in structural outline, occasional agreements in phrase and common rhymes throughout the plays indicate the original identity of the cycles.[16]

7. The date of separation must have been prior to 1390.[17]

It is a comparatively easy matter to discuss each step thus summarized in turn.

1. In the first place, Dr. Lyle makes no attempt to prove her first point. It happens that there are in York and Towneley six plays, or portions of plays, identical in structure, phraseology, and rhymes. It has been the commonly accepted theory that Towneley, at a late period in its development, borrowed these plays from

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-46.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-44.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-101.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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York.[18] This conclusion has been accepted after a careful comparison of the texts in the two cycles has been made. Without discussing the conclusions further than to classify the opinions of the scholars concerned, Miss Lyle assumes that we have in the identical plays relics of the original vernacular cycle; that their identity is accounted for, not by late borrowing, but by the fact that they are the only plays which retain, in Towneley at least, the identity with York plays that must have been complete for the whole cycle at the time of the separation from York. This is pure conjecture on her part, is presented without proof, and yet is in the background of all her argument for the vernacular identity of the plays.[19] It will be returned to later in this discussion.

2. The second point is based upon a second assumption similarly unsupported by evidence. No proof is offered that a late dramatist, using the expanded Northern Passion as a source, originated the Passion plays. No attention is paid to the fact that Miss F. A. Foster, the editor of the Northern Passion, considers the Towneley borrowings from the Passion to have been out of a different text from those of York,[20] or that the criteria [21] for determining York's dependence upon the Northern Passion are lacking from Towneley in one instance, though their presence would have been convincing proof of her contention. Furthermore, considerations of structure which she advances throughout an elaborate and detailed comparison can be adequately explained by a theory of independent descent from a common source; and the dramatic variation from Northern

[18] Pollard, A. W., *The Towneley Plays*, EETS., Ex. Ser., LXXI, 1897, pp. xiv-xxi.

Davidson, Charles, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 129.

Hohlfeld, A., "Die altenglischen Kollektivmisterien," *Anglia*, XI, 219 ff.

[19] In an article in *PMLA.*, for March, 1928, upon "The York Plays and The Gospel of Nichodemus," Miss Eleanor Grace Clark, of Bryn Mawr College, challenges certain of Dr. Lyle's conclusions, and on page 160 corroborates my opinion on this point in the following words: "Miss Lyle's thesis rests upon an hypothesis, the basis of which she makes no attempt to prove. Scholars will hardly accept a reconstruction of the 'parent cycle' of York and Towneley until it has been demonstrated that these six plays have actually escaped revision."

[20] Foster, Frances A., *The Northern Passion*, EETS., CXLVII, 1916, Vol. II, p. 81.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

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Passion which she notes as common to both Towneley and York by the fact that the plays developed from a dramatic liturgy to which a late editor made large additions, based upon the Northern Passion. Finally, the occasional similarity in phrase and rhyme words between Northern Passion, York, and Towneley, and between York and Towneley alone, which might have been significant had the external evidences not been so largely mere assumptions, can in their turn adequately be explained by the fact that all are narrating the same incidents, drawn ultimately from the Vulgate, the translation of which by men of little originality under the domination of a strong clerical tradition would tend to a multiplication of phrases largely stereotyped and, in verse, of rhymes lacking entirely in originality. While the absence of any identical phrases or common rhymes would indicate entire absence of vernacular influence, it would need many more phrases and a much larger number of common rhymes than Dr. Lyle has presented to give any certainty of vernacular influence in these cases. It is surprising that similarities in these translations are so few, rather than so many. Such evidence in support of well established premises is valuable. When the premises are themselves unsupported assumptions, it is valueless.

3. The influence of the Northern Passion, I have said, might be explained as the work of an editor revising an earlier play already in the cycle. Miss Lyle's third step illustrates a precisely similar happening. She is compelled by her previous assumptions to decide that an editor inserted into the earlier play the scenes taken from the Northern Gospel of Nichodemus. But to use the work of this editor as a means for dating the separation of Towneley from York is fallacious, because no proof has been advanced for the assumption that the identical plays are remnants of the parent cycle. Until that is proved, we have in the presence of Northern Gospel editings in York simply an indication that here York has been influenced by a source in editing which did not affect Towneley except in the late borrowing by Towneley from York of the identical plays.

4. It is, therefore, possible to assume the stanza influence of the Northern Gospel upon York without materially affecting the proof of the relationship between York and Towneley, because the only stanzas in Towneley in that form, those in Towneley XX, are

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generally thought to be a borrowing from a York play which has since been re-edited. It has no particular bearing upon the relationship between York and Towneley; nor was that the primary purpose in Dr. Lyle's study of this relationship. It was rather to refute the contention of Professor Davidson that these septenar stanzas are the only remnants of the parent cycle in York.[22] By proving them late revisions she prepares the way for her own definition of the parent cycle.

5. This contention Miss Lyle develops cleverly by the identical method of comparison of rhyme-schemes which she used in refuting Professor Davidson. The Resurrection play, one of the identical plays, is in the "Burns" stanza. "Practically a complete Resurrection group composed in the 'Burns' stanza is still extant in individual plays of either one cycle or the other."[23] Behind all this again is the original assumption that the identical plays are remnants of the parent York cycle unchanged in Towneley and York. Upon this assumption Dr. Lyle builds a comparison of the rhymes in all the plays using the "Burns" stanzas which convinces her that they are—all of them—parts of the parent York cycle to which other plays not easily defined may also have belonged. Among them, of course, she includes the plays in the septenar stanza which are found both in Towneley and York, because they show the influence of the stanza of the Northern Gospel which was used as a source of the Resurrection and of the Harrowing of Hell, itself a play in the septenar stanza.

In both these instances the comparison of the rhyme-schemes and words is mathematically precise. In the case of the septenar stanza no play falls below a 22% identity in rhyme-series and no play falls below the standard of 1 in 6 for agreeing rhyme-words. In the case of the "Burns" stanza the uniform proportion of 10 to 15% in York and 12 to 13% in Towneley of identical rhyme-series is maintained. The proportion of identical rhyme-words is 1 in 9½ lines to 1 in 12 lines in the York plays, and in the Towneley plays from 1 in 10 lines to 1 in 12 lines.[24] The question then resolves itself into a decision whether or not the uniform-

[22] Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.
[23] Lyle, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 and 50.

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ity of the comparison and the percentage of identity involved are in themselves enough to assume composition under the same influence, or whether we are here viewing one of those kaleidescopic figures which to another investigator, working from a different point of view, would present an entirely different aspect and have an entirely different value. I find myself inclined to accept the conclusions in regard to the septenars and to disallow them in regard to the "Burns" stanzas, largely because of the nature of the evidence which they are supposed to support. In the first place, the influence of the Gospel of Nichodemus upon the York Passion play is abundantly proved. Professor W. A. Craigie called attention to editings from the Gospel years ago.[25] It is, therefore, not difficult to believe that the metrical form of the plays might have come under the same influence. The rhyme similarities thus become simply the corroboration of a strong possibility.[26] But the case of the "Burns" stanza is quite different. There the rhyme-tests are used to corroborate a theory of the present cycle in York which is based upon an initial assumption that the plot of the Resurrection, one of the identical York and Towneley plays, is for that reason, part of the parent cycle in York. There is all the difference in the world between using rhyme-tests to support a theory based upon a ground-work of known fact and using them to build an additional step in an argument grounded upon an unproved assumption. It is only because of this unproved assumption that these rhyme-tests have been made, and as additional argument they are no whit stronger than the assumption which brought them forth. They stand or fall with it. It is true that there is in one place some attempt to prove this assumption in regard to the Resurrection,[27] but it closely resembles that form of reasoning which returns upon itself, because it is implicitly based upon the very assumption which it attempts to prove. The argument is, in reality, something like this. Assuming that these identical plays are remnants of the parent cycle, then this Resurrection play could hardly be said to replace another Resurrection play in Towneley: "The theory that Towneley 'borrowed' certain plays from York en-

[25] Craigie, W. A., "The Gospel of Nichodemus and the York Mystery Plays," *An English Miscellany*, Oxford University Press, 1901.

[26] On this relation see Miss Clark's article referred to above.

[27] Lyle, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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counters serious difficulties in the case of the *Resurrection*. To suppose that Towneley already possessed a Resurrection group, but wished to exchange its own play for the York *Resurrection* seems improbable."[28] It must, therefore, if it could not have so replaced another play, have been part of the original cycle. The primary assumption makes it necessary to assume that borrowing was improbable, which makes it possible to reassume the original assumption. Thus this primary assumption sets its vicious mark upon every step of the argument.

6. In making her comparison of the individual plays, Dr. Lyle has divided them into six groups.[29]

I. The six identical plays.

II. Plays showing striking similarity in underlying structure, together with isolated passages showing parallel phraseology, occasionally retaining even common rhyme words.

III. Plays showing a similarity in underlying structure with isolated passages showing parallel phraseology, but without the retention of common rhyme words.

IV. Plays showing a similarity in underlying structure without isolated parallel phraseology or rhyme.

V. One play, the Purification, with little similarity in structure.

VI. Plays included in but one of the cycles.

This division runs across my own grouping into Old Testament plays, Christmas plays, Ministry and Passion plays, Resurrection and Judgment plays. Of her first group, examples are found in each of mine. The same is true of her second and third groups. I have no quarrel with any identification of structure which may be found in Birth, Passion, and Resurrection groups. It is there consecutively, scene for scene and organic in its nature, as I showed plainly before she traced my steps after me. Revisions have been superimposed upon it and can, if one wishes, be traced, within certain definite limitations. I have already indicated just how

[28] Why? To me it seems most probable. Of course, such borrowing would be impossible, granted the initial assumption.

[29] Lyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 53-103.

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much confidence can be put in isolated agreement in phraseology and retention of common rhyme-words. But when Miss Lyle discovers similarity in structure in the Old Testament plays, I must at once take issue with her. The Old Testament plays in both cycles run into fairly consecutive scenes upon the Fall of the Angels, Creation, and subsequent biblical events up to the time of Moses, but the lives of the patriarchs are treated in much more detail in Towneley and, after a play on Pharaoh identical in York and Towneley, run into quite different treatments of the Prophets.[30] It is this identical play of Pharaoh which makes Dr. Lyle's position so difficult. She says that True-Coventry broke away from York before Towneley did. Now True-Coventry contains no Old Testament plays; therefore, Old Testament plays must have been added to the York cycle after True-Coventry broke away and before Towneley did, since there is in the Old Testament group in Towneley an identical play. Dr. Lyle, therefore, finds herself constrained to prove the structural identity of the Old Testament plays in the two cycles, at least as far as the earlier plays preceding the Pharaoh are concerned. This similarity can be found in the Old Testament plays only by the most elaborate casuistry. To be convincing, it must extend throughout the group, in which there must be consecutive development of similar scenes. Cyclic growth is from a liturgical play consisting of a series of consecutive scenes upon the contiguous events in bible history. On reaching the vernacular, or perhaps better, on the way to it, these scenes become elaborate and tend to separate into individual plays. The extant True-Coventry plays present an early stage of this progress in this very cyclic group. There all the scenes of the birth are given as in York and Towneley, but not in separate plays. True-Coventry has but two plays, where York and Towneley have several, the first True-Coventry play including all scenes up to the Purification (Annunciation, Visit to Elizabeth, Birth, Shepherds, Magi, Flight into Egypt), which are separate plays in York and Towneley; the second including the Purification and the Doctors. These have undergone so much editing and enlargement that they separated because of their very size from the first group of scenes. Thus it is evident that, if similarity in structure is to have any significance, it must be thoroughly organic; it cannot appear sporadically in iso-

[30] See *MP*, X, pp. 594 ff., for my discussion of the relationship.

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lated scenes. There is no such organic similarity here. There are, of necessity, many similar scenes, but intermingled with them are scenes totally dissimilar whose place in their respective cycles is quite organic. Again, in scenes which are in subject-matter similar, the method of treatment is quite likely to be so strikingly different that it is evident they could never have been editorial revisions of the same sources. I cannot agree at all, for instance, that the York and Towneley plays of the Creation were originally identical. The order of events is organically different, Towneley having the Creation before the Fall; and while both have been edited, it is not possible to see how, as Miss Lyle suggests, York could have been edited away from Towneley, which she holds represents the parent cycle. In the story of Creation to the Fifth Day the same lack of significant similarity is apparent. As Miss Lyle herself says: "These similarities, slight as they are, may indicate that Towneley and York were originally identical." It is clear that she is reading into them "evidence of things hoped for." In the story of Cain and Abel there is one thing in common: Cain in each play has a plowboy. But the use made of him in Towneley has no organic relation to the use made of him in York. The Towneley editor could never have erected his diverting scene upon the skeleton provided by a parent play common to both cycles. He is, in this case, the Wakefield editor of distinctive dramatic power; but even he always appears to have written as a reviser, not creating story so much as elaborating upon an old structure of plot.[31] He could not have so elaborated upon the plot revealed in the York play and have arrived at the Towneley plot. Now, it is in these plays of early Old Testament history, so essential for the development of the cosmic plan of salvation, that we would normally look for the closest identity in structure. If it is not here, it will scarcely be found in later plays. In other words, Dr. Lyle has been forced by the power of her initial assumption to find a similarity in the structure of these plays, even though none exists, and to support it as far as she can by occasional common phrases and rhymes, an argument which loses all its force if once doubt is cast upon the structural identity of these plays.

7. Miss Lyle suggests that the date of separation between York

[31] *JEGP.*, XI, p. 259.

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and Towneley must have been prior to 1390, because there is evidence that the Creation play, a single unit in Towneley, had been divided into two in York before that date. A date before which the separation could not have occurred is furnished by the date of the expanded Northern Passion, 1350.[32] There are a number of interesting implications involved in the brevity of time between these dates. We are to imagine that shortly after 1350 there began in Wakefield the presentation of the plays of the York cycle. These, from the time of their first presentation, began a separate growth similar to that which, during the course of two hundred or more years, had brought the York cycle to the condition in which Wakefield borrowed it. Now this growth independently in Towneley could not have commenced before 1350; and yet we are asked to believe that between that time and, at the latest, 1400, the growth apart of both cycles had been both so rapid and so erratic that only six scenes are found which remain identical in phrasing and rhyme; while all the rest of both cycles had grown so distinct in phraseology that only occasional phrases and common rhyme words in the two are identical. And what is more marvelous, Wakefield had, out of this limited experience and rapid evolution, developed a playwright of exceptional ability who had written plays which reached the high-water mark of drama within the cycles.[33] This seems incredible for those days of slow development and intense conservatism where matters of religion are concerned. The one salvation of the mystery development must have been its excessive slowness. Too rapid growth would have invited stern repression. Granted that the evolution might have been more rapid in the last stages of cyclic growth, this is too rapid a transformation for so brief a time, as compared with the gradual evolution of preceding years.

But what seems to me the most serious dilemma into which Dr.

[32] Foster, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 3.

[33] Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii, dates the Wakefield editor in the reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413.

In this same connection it is interesting to note the opinion of Oscar Cargil (*PMLA.*, XLI, 810-31), whose assignment of the authorship of these plays to Gilbert Pilkington makes it necessary to date them as early as 1355; and Miss F. A. Foster's article in refutation of Cargill (*PMLA.*, XLIII, 124-36).

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Lyle's initial assumption forces her is found in connection with the True-Coventry plays. It is conceded that in structure they represent a more archaic stage in cyclic growth than do Towneley and York. They belong to the era before an Old Testament play had been developed in the other cycles.[34] They group together in one play scenes which in other cycles had been greatly extended into many plays. Their text is late, but their development is greatly retarded. On that ground Miss Lyle and I agree that we have in them a cycle much more primitive in form than York and Towneley. I hold that this means simply a retarded growth from a common liturgical source. She holds that it means that True-Coventry broke away from York before Towneley did.[35] Thereby she finds herself involved in a double dilemma. First, if it broke away early, it must have been before the late Northern Passion editor wrote the late York Passion play. And yet there was in True-Coventry a Passion play now lost.[36] Second, if it broke away so early, how does it come about that there is in the True-Coventry Weaver's play a series of stanzas which, although edited in our present text, were originally identical with the septenar stanzas found in the same play in Towneley and York?[37] These septenar stanzas it is which she believes show the influence of the Northern Gospel and are therefore late in York's history. The two things do not hitch. True-Coventry cannot have separated early and have these stanzas in the Weaver's play unless they are a late borrowing. It cannot have broken away after these stanzas had been written in York and have been so palpably archaic in form. There is only one conclusion possible. The stanzas are a late borrowing; and if they, then all the identical stanzas in Towneley did, and Miss Lyle's whole argument falls, no stronger than its weakest link.

There may have been vernacular identity between Towneley, York, and True-Coventry, but I do not believe that Dr. Lyle's argument convinces us that there was. The Mysteries will remain in this sense mystery until definite external evidence can be found either in substantiation or refutation of her claim. But her argu-

[34] See reference to Professor Craig's introduction, cited above.
[35] Lyle, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[36] Craig, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 60, ll. 885, etc.

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ment in all essential particulars supports my own as to a common liturgical source in Birth, Resurrection, and Passion groups. We are, therefore, able to go forward with more confidence than is inspired by the conclusions of a single investigator to lay the grounds for a study of dramatic practice in England, by a comparison of the development of these three cycles: a much more fruitful field of study than can be found in tracing the will-o'-the-wisp of editorial changes through analysis of meter and rhyme and phrasal similarities in the cycles. Some indications of the nature of this development I hope to be able in the future to suggest.

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THE FIRST EDITIONS OF HOME'S *DOUGLAS*[1]

By DOUGALD MACMILLAN

The task of preparation of a critical text of John Home's *Douglas: A Tragedy* is complicated by the existence of two first editions of the play. I wish in this paper to call attention to what seem to me to be good reasons for preferring to its London contemporary the first Edinburgh edition as the more nearly authoritative version.

Douglas was first produced in Edinburgh amidst a storm of applause and protest, December 14, 1756. The following March, the 14th., at Covent Garden Rich put on the first London performance; and during the same month, appeared the two first editions of the published play. The London edition was "Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand," and sold for one and six. The Edinburgh edition, selling for the same price, was "Printed for G. HAMILTON & J. BALFOUR, W. GRAY & W. PETER." On the basis of these two editions the subsequent texts of *Douglas* have been issued. (I abbreviate the first two editions henceforth E1 and L1.) Disregarding detailed textual matters, one finds that a collation of the two editions of 1757 shows that the major differences between E1 and L1 consist in ommissions from L1 of lines which are to be found in E1. They are : (1) the prologue that was "spoken at Edinburgh"; and (2) the following lines from the play itself: Act I, lines 31-38, 40, 42-65½ 68-74; Act II, line 87; Act V, from line 281 the words *O, my mother,* which complete the pentameter.

The reason for the omission of the Edinburgh prologue from L1 is obvious. This prologue is distinctly nationalistic in tone; it consists of a comparison of "Caledonia" with Athens,

> Rugged her soil, and rocky was her shore;

and praise of the Douglas as a national hero.

[1] Copies of the first Edinburgh edition and of *The Dramatic Works of John Home* (1760) from the library of the late Professor Thornton Shirley Graves, of The University of North Carolina, were kindly lent me by Mrs. Graves. Of the first London edition I used a photostat of the copy in the Wrenn Library, the University of Texas.

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> This night our scenes no common tear demand,
> He comes, the hero of your native land!
> DOUGLAS, a name through all the world renown'd,
> A name that rouses like the trumpet's sound!
> Oft have your fathers, prodigal of life,
> A DOUGLAS follow'd through the bloody strife;
> Hosts have been known at that dread time to yield
> And, DOUGLAS dead, his name hath won the field.

Such lines were palpably unsuited to a Covent Garden audience and were almost equally inappropriate in an English edition of the play. The London prologue, it will be recalled, refers to the strife between the Percies and Douglases, emphasizing their amity as well as their enmity, and concluding with the hope that the mother of a Douglas will find

> Each *English* breast, like noble PIERCY'S, kind.

The excision of the lines referred to from Acts I, II, and V is probably caused by the cutting frequently necessary in preparing a stage version of any play. All except one and one-half lines are taken from near the beginning of Act I. There they occur in the long, expository dialogue between Lord Randolph and his lady; they set forth an amount of antecedent action which is not strictly necessary to an understanding of the play. The lord and lady, also, tell each other a number of things which they might be presumed to know already. They are, indeed, as Hume said in his letter to Home on the subject of *Douglas*,[2] instructing the audience, —"a very good end indeed, but which might have been attained by a careful and artificial conduct of the dialogue." One of these seemingly unnecessary bits, however, later proves to be of some consequence. Lines 50-56 contain Lady Randolph's account of her marriage to Lord Randolph and the reasons for it:

> At last my Sire, rous'd with the base attempt
> To force me from him, which thou rend'red'st vain,
> To his own daughter bow'd his hoary head,
> Besought me to commiserate his age,
> And vow'd he should not, could not die in peace,
> Unless he saw me wedded, and secur'd
> From violence and outrage.

---

[2] *Works of John Home*, 1822, I, 100-101.

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This attack upon Lady Randolph, we learn later, was perpetrated by Glenalvon in disguise. The reference to it here makes clear the lines in his own soliloquy at the end of Act I (ll. 289-291),

> When I had seiz'd the dame, by chance he came,
> Rescu'd, and had the Lady for his labour;
> I 'scap'd unknown: a slender consolation!

And again, at the end of Act II:

> Why, rape and murder are not simple means!
> Th' imperfect rape to Randolph gave a spouse;
> . . . . . .

These references, without Lady Randolph's explanation, in L1 are a bit obscure and confusing; and the understanding of Glenalvon's character and actions depends upon them as motivation. It is true that in her long conversation with Anna in Act I Lady Randolph again refers to the assault; but at the time our minds are full of the story she has told and the slight reference to "Randolph, who snatch'd me from a villain's arms." is likely to be missed even by a fairly careful reader, and, I think, most certainly would not be noticed by an audience in the theatre unless the actress made a point of "playing it up." One feels, too, that Glenalvon's behavior is in need of all the motivation that can be assembled in its defense or explanation.

The remainder of the omitted passages are of consequence, probably, only to the poet. They contain lines which he was perhaps fond of. For example the second of those given below:

> Time, that wears out the trace of deepest anguish,
> As the sea smooths the prints made in the sand,
> . . . . . (I, 39-40.)

And one might add the following:

> For melancholy had congeal'd my blood,
> And froze affection in my chilly breast. (I, 48-49.)
>
> These might contend with, and allay thy grief,
> As meeting tides and currents smooth our firth. (I, 71-72.)

Home's verse is in general remarkably regular. The excision of the last two feet from the speech of the dying Douglas might

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be regarded as rendering the speech more effective in the theatre, but it spoils the meter. The line is

> My eyes that gaze on thee
> Grow dim apace! my mother—O! my mother. (V, 217-218.)

The last three words are lacking in L1.

The omission of line 87, Act II, is probably to be accounted for on the grounds of intelligibility. The sentence structure is extraordinarily complicated:

> I joy that thou art safe, and I admire
> Him and his fortunes who hath wrought thy safety;
> Yea, as my mind predicts, with thine his own. (II, 85-87.)

It is difficult to understand line 87 when one reads it, and it is all but impossible to speak it so that it can be understood.

On the basis, then, of metrical regularity and textual completeness E1 seems to be superior to L1. It may have been published under the direction of Home himself, or one of his friends, who probably read the proof. L1 was in all probability set up from the Covent Garden prompt book and gives the version actually used by Rich's company. It was possibly not seen by Home until after its actual publication. According to Mackenzie, Home was in Scotland at the time of the publication of the play. He did not move to London until "soon after the publication of his tragedy, in March, 1757," [3] and he held the living of Athelstaneford until the following June. E1 is also the superior edition typographically, containing fewer errors and presenting in general a more pleasing appearance. The London edition has more conventional decoration than E1 in the shape of printers' ornaments, and the title page is more elaborately set up; but these are matters which, it seems to me, are of more concern to the printer than to the poet.

Recognizing the weakness of the case for E1 just set forth, I should like to call attention to subsequent editions of *Douglas* with a view to determining the authority of the two first editions. Miss Alice E. Gipson has "definitely established" "the priority of the first London edition over the first Edinburgh edition." [4]

[3] *Works*, 1822, I, 49.

[4] *John Home: a Study of His Life and Works*, Yale University dissertation, 1916, p. iii.

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"Although," she says, "the first Edinburgh edition of *Douglas* was in the press at the same time as the first London edition, the English copy appeared a few days earlier. The *London Evening Post* for March 17 to March 19, 1757, announces that

> This day was publish'd—Price One Shilling and Sixpence—The Tragedy of Douglas—as it is acting at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden."[5]

And: "The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for Thursday, March 24, 1757, announces the publication of *Douglas* for the next Tuesday [i. e. the 29th], and the Scottish papers during the early part of April advertise it as being on sale at the book shops."[6] L1, therefore, seems to have come out some ten days before E1, but E1 was in the press at the same time as L1. The priority, then, seems of little moment. The whereabouts of the author at this time, however, is a more important question. Miss Gipson[7] states that "Home took little part in the discussion [the church controversy] and remained in London during the greater part of the year 1757 from January until June, in which month he resigned his pastorate of Athelstaneford. . . ." This statement is in direct contradiction of Mackenzie's assertion, which I have already quoted that "Mr. Home went to London soon after the publication of his tragedy, in March, 1757, when it was brought out at Covent-Garden, with much success." I am not prepared to argue the point, but I should like to call attention to the fact that in other details of Home's life Miss Gipson follows Mackenzie and the *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle*.[8] She gives no evidence whatever to support her statement that Home was in London.[9] If Home was, as Mackenzie says, in Scotland in February and March, 1757, it

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[8] For instance, in regard to the date of Home's birth, on which point Mackenzie and the *Biographia Dramatica* differ, she says, "Mackenzie, however, as a personal friend of Home, with access to his private papers, has seemed the safest authority here." (p. 1n.)

[9] Hubert J. Tunney, in his edition of *Douglas*, *Bulletin of the University of Kansas*, xxv, 17, Humanistic Studies, iii, 3, Lawrence, November, 1924, p. 8, also says that "Home had the satisfaction of seeing his tragedy performed with great success at Covent Garden." He cites no authority for the statement that Home saw the first London performance, and I have found nothing to support it.

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seems to me probable that he saw E1 through the press. He was a person of some consequence, probably the most talked of man in Scotland in that year, and he had influential friends.

But it is to the later editions of *Douglas* that I turn for further evidence of the contemporary opinion as to the authority of the two first editions. To the year 1833 they number some forty-two.[10] The second edition might well, I think, be disregarded, as it appeared in Belfast in 1758. Home probably had nothing to do with it. The third edition is found in *The Dramatic Works of John Home.* "London: Printed for A. Millar in the Strand. MDCCLX." (I quote the title page.) The volume contains three plays, *Douglas, Agis,* and *The Siege of Aquileia;* in addition to the plays, it contains (pp. iii-vii) a dedication "To His Royal Highness, George, Prince of Wales." There is no doubt about Home's position in the world in 1760. He was recognized, probably, as the greatest living playwright and, more important, the protégé of Lord Bute, and was soon to receive a pension from a new king, George III. The 1760 edition of his works was printed for the same bookseller who had published L1. One would, therefore, expect a reprint of that edition. But the collection is identified with the author by the presence of a special, newly written dedication, which had not before appeared. It seems highly probable that this edition was issued pretty directly from Home himself. He was certainly now equipped in every way to direct, as much as was possible at the time, the publication of his works. The text of *Douglas* here given is a word for word reprint not of L1, Millar's previous edition of the play, but of E1, the Scottish edition, with the exception of two lines, noted below, the correction of two typographical errors (both in stage directions), and one change in spelling (*dy'd* becoming *died*).[11] The variation in the lines comes near the end of Act IV, in a speech of Glenalvon to Douglas.[12] The reading of E1 (p. 57, ll. 6-10) follows:

> Yes if you presume
> To bend on soldiers these disdainful eyes,
> *As if you took the measure of their minds*
> *And said in secret, you're no match for me;*
> What will become of you?

[10] Given by Gipson, pp. 69-70; Tunney, pp. 91-92.

[11] I have not noted changes in punctuation, which are slight also.

[12] L1 and E1 agree at this point.

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In the 1760 edition the two italicized lines are omitted. This edition, on the whole, seems to me for the reasons given to be of greater worth than has been assigned it by students of Home.

Among still later editions [13] of *Douglas* Miss Gipson forces one to pause on that of 1798. She says that it "has the appearance of being a very carefully edited version of the tragedy." It was printed at Edinburgh and lacks the scene divisions which are characteristic of L1 but are lacking in E1. She goes on, "The text shows that this edition followed closely the first Edinburgh edition." Further, "The most significant fact brought out, however, in a careful comparison of this edition with the first London edition is, as has been said, that of the shortening of a great many of the long speeches of the play." I should like at this point to mention the significance of the fact that this edition follows E1. She concludes that the later editions of the play show slight changes chiefly in the direction of condensation, displaying "more and more disinclination for the long declamatory speeches, and we find therefore that many of these are shortened in the later editions." [14] She is quite right as regards the texts found in the collections of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In acting versions such as those given by Bell, Mrs. Inchbald, Oxberry, and others such cutting as is commented upon is of course abundant. But when we come again upon an elaborate, well edited, pretentious edition of Home's works, we find that the text is restored. And in the 1822 edition of *The Works of John Home, Esq.* "Now first collected. To which is prefixed, *An Account of his Life and Writings.* By Henry Mackenzie, Esq., F. R. S. E., &c. &c. &c." [15] the text given, restored to its pristine elegance, is the text of E1 slightly, very slightly, revised. This edition, frequently referred to as Mackenzie's, was prepared in Edinburgh, where Home's was still a great name, and, if not actually edited by Mackenzie, at least

[13] In the Wrenn Library is a copy of a 1769 edition of *Douglas* which is not listed by Miss Gipson or Mr. Tunney. Professor R. H. Griffith informs me that it is "A page for page, I think word for word, reprint of the London 1757." I have not seen this edition, nor have I seen that of 1798 which is described by Miss Gipson and used by Mr. Tunney in the preparation of his text.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

[15] 3 vols. "Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson, and Co., London."

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with the knowledge of the dean of Scottish letters and presumably with the assistance of his circle of eminent Scotchmen interested in the preservation of their national tradition and literature. It is also a handsome edition, well printed on good paper and embellished with excellent engraved plates.[16]

An examination of these editions tends to show that the better editions issued during Home's lifetime and in the years immediately following were based on the text of E1.

I am acquainted with only two recent reprints of *Douglas*. That in David H. Stevens' *Types of English Drama* [17] is a reprint of L1. Professor Stevens simply states that he has used the first edition. He reprints L1, but gives the cast of the first Edinburgh performance, which appears in L1. He also reprints the dedication of *The Dramatic Works* (1760) with the following note:

> This does not appear in the 1757 edition but is undoubtedly Home's. It was probably printed first in an edition issued near the time of George III's coronation in 1760.

I have already noted the fact that this dedication appeared first in *The Dramatic Works;* it is a dedication of the volume, not of the play *Douglas* alone. It is reprinted as such in the 1822 edition of the collected works where it precedes *Agis,* the plays there being arranged in the order of composition not that of production.

The other reprint, edited by Mr. Tunney,[18] gives the text of the 1822 edition of Home's works, which has been collated with nine other editions. E1 and *The Dramatic Works* of 1760 are conspicuously absent from the list. Of the nine which the editor used in his collation six are from the collections of the so-called acted drama. These editions, useful for many purposes doubtless, are notoriously inaccurate, giving, as they themselves claim, the versions of the prompt books and not, at that, those of the original or early performances but of the period of publication. For instance, in Mrs. Inchbald's edition (1808), one of those used by Mr. Tunney, the title page states that the play is given "as it is per-

[16] I used the copy in the Library of The University of North Carolina.

[17] Boston: Ginn & Co., n. d.

[18] Mr. Tunney's name alone appears on the title page, though Professor Selden L. Whitcomb, editor of the series in which this edition appears, in his prefatory note assumes part of the responsibility for the introduction and notes, which he has revised but failed to initial.

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formed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Printed under the authority of the managers from the prompt book." In the *dramatis personæ,* here called "Persons Represented," we find "Douglas . . . *Master Betty*"! Obviously this prompt book version dates from the day of that infant Roscius.

The collation, given in notes on the Tunney edition, of the so-called Mackenzie edition with L1 is misleading. It gives the impression that passages appearing in the former were perhaps added to the play after the appearance of the latter. The passages found in E1 and lacking in L1 are not, I think, such lines as a poet would be likely to add to an already completed tragedy; but they are, as I have said, the lines which a producer would remove to speed up the action of the opening scene of his play. It is obvious then that the 1822 text should be collated with E1, on which it is based, an operation which will show the effect that time had had on the tragedy. It is very little, and most of it the result, probably, of a process of toning down phrases which might offend the religious.

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXVI October, 1929 Number 4

A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF THE CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS AS DRAMA

By George R. Coffman

During the first half of the fourteenth century there was created in Northern England in connection with the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi a new kind of literary composition, intended for stage presentation. Though it was sometimes produced during Whitsuntide, it was essentially a feature of Corpus Christi. In its cosmic reach, from the fall of the angels to the judgment day, it was like the contemporary Northern England, *Cursor Mundi,* which contributed material for this drama and which may have been a deciding influence in its general scheme or plan. It was, also, similar to a great mass of productions ranging from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer in that it consisted of a coalescence, adaptation, and amplification of literary productions already in existence. Interwoven into the texture were materials from the Vulgate Bible, the Apocrypha, saints' legends, and various other religious and secular sources in the vernacular. The type became so popular as to result in a literary fashion, spreading over Northern and Central England and continuing to make a wide appeal into the second half of the sixteenth century. The mediaeval process of creation continued in various centers as new authors adopted the architectural scheme, borrowed slavishly or with discrimination and originality, and reached out for new sources. Of the numerous authors and revisers who contributed to this literary vogue, not a single person is known. The results of a recent attempt to identify one such individual have been decisively invali-

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dated.[1] In many respects it was the most democratic literature in mediaeval England. The audience, gathered at various stations in the towns, included all classes; the general managers were the civic authorities; the directors and actors were representatives of all the craft gilds; and all the members contributed to the expenses of the production. The zeal of sixteenth century reformers and other ravages equally destructive have deprived us of a majority of the texts and of other documents which would have been priceless for students of these plays. But the four complete cycles, with fragments of others, and records of various kinds preserved furnish an adequate body of material for interesting, comprehensive, and challenging studies.

Competent surveys of the field one finds in Chambers, Creizenach, and Wells. Editions of the cycles which have appeared between 1885 and the present have made the texts generally accessible for students. Many English and Continental—especially German—dissertations, monographs, articles, and notes have appeared. For American studies Dr. Davidson's Yale dissertation in 1892, on the English Mystery Plays, is the pioneer. In general, the subsequent contributions fall under three heads: sources, interdependence of cycles, and production. To any one interested in this field, the work of such scholars as Cady, Craig, Foster, Frank, Hemingway, Lyle, Spencer, Swenson, and Taylor is of fundamental importance. And Professor Manly has special claim here as editor, teacher, and director of research. But none of the studies here included treat of the cycles primarily as *drama* and as *dramatic literature*. The nearest in this respect is Dr. Spencer's on the *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*. This, however, concerns "itself with the customs governing the production of the pageants, with the relation of the different parts of the stage to each other, with the principles of decoration and the use of properties, and with the general subject of the actors and their costumes." I have reserved up to this point the names of two American students of the plays who deserve mention because of their primary interest in popularizing the cycles. Professor Bates, the American pioneer in this respect, devotes a chapter of her *English Religious Drama* to "Dramatic Values" in the Cycles; and Professor Gayley in his introduction

[1] See Carghill and Foster, *op. cit.*, under general bibliographical note below.

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to volume one of *Representative English Comedies* and in *Plays of our Forefathers* considers this same feature of interest.[2] But neither makes a sufficiently comprehensive and critical analysis of this feature of the cycles.[3]

The following, I believe, may be taken as representative attitudes toward the Corpus Christi cycles as drama. The first is from Miss Bates:

> It is that very effect of "simple grandeur" which I would claim for the Miracle[4] Cycles as a whole, viewed from a sufficient distance, where details are lost in the general outline and relief. The cycle is the drama,

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[2] Professors Bates and Gayley have read the cycles with sympathetic understanding and have interpreted them with a pleasing sensitiveness to literary and dramatic qualities. Though I question certain aspects of their studies, I take pleasure here in acknowledging the contribution which they have made to my enjoyment of the plays as literature.

[3] This is obviously not the place to attempt an inclusive bibliography. The following provides an introduction to the cycles and lists some of the representative work of students in the field. For a survey, see Chambers, E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage* (1903), Vol. II, chap. xxi-xxii, with Appendices W and X; Creizenach, Wilh., *Gesch. des neuern Dramas* (1911), Vol. I, pp. 289-301; Ten Brink, B., *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.* (tr. by W. C. Robinson, 1893), Vol. II, bk. V, chap. ii-vi, for an earlier, concise survey; Wells, J. E., *A Manual of Writings in Middle English—1050-1400* (1916) chap. XIV, with bibliographies; *Ibid.*, Supplement I (1919), II (1923), III (1926); for comparison with the analogous form in France, see L. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* (1880), Vol. I, chap. v-xiii. For texts, see *The Chester Plays*, EETS., Part I (1892, reprinted 1926), ed. by Dr. Herman Deimling; Part II (1916 for 1914), ed. by Dr. Matthews; *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, EETS. (1902), ed. by Hardin Craig; *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie Called Corpus Christi* (sometimes called Hegge plays), EETS. (1922), ed. by K. S. Block; *The Towneley Plays*, EETS. (1897), re-ed. by George England, with side notes and introduction by A. W. Pollard; *York Mystery Plays* (1885), ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith; *The Non-cycle Mystery Plays*, EETS. (1909), ed. by Osborn Waterhouse. For anthologies, see Adams, J. Q., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (1924), "The Craft Cycles", pp. 81-204; Manly, J. M., Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama (1897), Vol. I, pp. 1-211; Pollard, A. W., *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes* (1927), pp. 1-48. Selected studies: Bates, Katherine Lee, *The English Religious Drama* (1893), chap. II-IV; Cady, F. W., "The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries," *PMLA*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 419-469; ——, "Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mysteries," *JEGP*, Vol. X (1911), pp. 572-84; ——, "The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Mysteries," *Ibid.*, Vol. XI (1912), pp. 1-19; ——, "The Passion Group in Towneley,"

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of which the pageants are but shifting scenes. A grand dramatic framework is discernable through the awkward language and the naïve ideas.[4]

The next, in similar vein, is from Mr. Gayley:

Taken as a whole, the craft cycle possesses the significance, continuity, and finality requisite to dramatic art; taken in its parts or pageants, however, it presents to the modern reader the appearance of a mosaic, an historical panel picture, or stereoptican show.[5]

Bernhard Ten Brink in comparing the influence of the Morality

MP, Vol. X (1913), pp. 587-600; Carghill, Oscar, "The Authorship of the Secunda Pastorum," *PMLA*, XLI (1926), pp. 810-831; Clark, Grace E., "The York Plays and the Gospel of Nichodemus," *PMLA*, XLIII (1920), pp. 153-61; Craig, Hardin, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays," *MP*, X (1913), pp. 473-487; ———, "The Corpus Christi Procession and the Corpus Play," *JEGP*, XIII (1914), pp. 589-602; ———, "A Note on the Home of the Ludus Coventriae," *Univ. of Minn. Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 1 (1914), pp. 72-83; Craigie, W. A., "The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays," *Furnivall Miscellany* (1901), pp. 52-61; Davidson, Charles, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays* (1892); Dodds, M. H., "The Problem of the Ludus Coventriae," *MLR*, IX (1914), pp. 79-90; Ebert, A., "Die englischen Mysterien, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Towneley-Sammlung," *Jahrb. für rom. und eng. Lit.*, I, 44-82, 131-70; Foster, Frances A., "The Northern Passion and the Drama," in *The Northern Passion*, EETS. (1916 for 1913), Vol. II, pp. 81-101; ———, "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the Secunda Pastorium?" *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), pp. 224-236; Frank, Grace, "Revisions in the English Mystery Plays," *MP*, XV (1918), pp. 565-72; ——— "On the Relations between the York and the Towneley Plays," *PMLA*, XLIV (1929), pp. 313-19; Gayley, C. M., *Representative English Comedies* (1903), Vol. I, pp. xxi-xxxvi; ———, *Plays of our Forefathers* (1907), chap. vi-xiv; Hemingway, S. B., *The English Nativity Plays* (1909); Hohlfeld, A., "Die altenglischen Kollektivmysterien," *Anglia*, XI (1888-9), p. 219-310; Leach, A. F., "Some English Plays and Players," *Furnivall Miscellany* (1901), pp. 205-34; Lyle, Marie C., "The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles," *Univ. of Minn. Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 6 (1919); ———, "The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles —a Rejoinder," *PMLA* (1929), pp. 319-28; Spencer, M. Lyle, *Corpus Christi Pageants in England* (1911); Swenson, Esther L., "An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of the Ludus Coventriae," *Univ. of Minn. Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 1 (1914), pp. 1-71; Taylor, G. C., "Relations of Lyric and Drama in Mediaeval England," *MP*, IV (1907), pp. 605-37; V, pp. 1-38.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 181. Miracle is used here in the inclusive sense of the term: i. e., for both Biblical and Saints' plays.

[5] *English Comedies*, I, xxxi.

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and the Corpus Christi cycles, summarizes his view concerning the latter as drama:

> In the Mysteries, not only were the subject and the idea unalterable, but the way in which the subject and idea affected each other was equally unchangeable. The power of expression was exceedingly defective. The idea in the finished work still seemed to be something strange and external—conception and execution did not correspond. It was only by a whole cycle that the subject could be exhausted, and this cycle was composed of the most hetereogeneous elements, and was in fact a work of accident. The single play very seldom formed a unit or whole; it seldom contained anything that could be called a dramatic action. The spectators were therefore interested only in the material. Only a few details made any aesthetic effect—such as character, situation, scenes; the whole was rarely or never dramatic.[6]

In the course of a paper which Mr. Manly read two years ago in England, he made a pretty comprehensive statement concerning his idea of the dramatic values in the Corpus Christi cycles:

> The scriptural cycles had, in fact, little capacity for developing skill in dramatic composition or a taste for dramatic art. They were revised or rewritten from time to time, to be sure, but at such long intervals, that they could not have served as any special school for the production of playwrights. In the whole range of the Scripture cycles there are only two writers who display any noteworthy sense of dramatic effect—the unknown genius who wrote the "Secunda Pastorum" and a few other pageants of the Towneley series, and the equally unknown master of stage-craft who transformed the placid pathos of the Chester Abraham and Isaac into the dynamic scenes of the Brome play.
>
> Nor was it easy for writers of pageants in the great cycles to give dramatic quality to the individual pageants. The pageants were parts of a vast whole, dramatic in theme, but not in all its parts. The rise and fall of an action, a tension created and relieved—this, which is the essence of drama, was possible only accidentally and episodically in the Scripture cycle. It might occur, in elementary form, in the struggle of Noah and his sons to get Mrs. Noah into the ark, or in the psychological crisis of the Abraham and Isaac episode, or in the interpolated incident of Mak and his wife in the "Secunda Pastorum," but fundamentally the Scripture cycles are not dramatic and spectacular, but epic and oratorical.
>
> In the matter of realism or of spectacular sensationalism the dramatists of the Scripture cycles were equally restricted. They could treat Cain and his boy and the shepherds who watched their flocks and came to present their offerings to the infant Saviour as contemporary rustics, and they could exploit the horrors of the trial, the flagellation and the cruci-

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

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fixion, but most of the pageants offered little scope for development, even if the writers had had abundant experience in dramatic composition.[7]

To close this brief symposium, I quote from a recent letter by a scholar whose distinctive work in this field justifies the positive tenor of his statement:

> With characteristic modern superiority of tone, we are accustomed, even in the world of scholarship, to apologize for any liking we may have for the mediaeval drama. With a dot we damn the whole outfit as crude, babyish, inartistic, a dish to be set before the moron of the Middle Ages. Coming out of the *average* theatre of New York of today, I have often wished I had been "suckled in a creed outworn" and would gladly have exchanged the stage play or the movie for a day or a week in any one of a hundred towns in mediaeval England along about Corpus Christi day.

Postponing, until later, question and comment concerning these attitudes, I think we may agree that under present conditions there are genuine difficulties in the way of considering a Corpus Christi cycle, under any circumstances, as a dramatic unit. Take the case of the average undergraduate. In most courses in the history of drama he has an opportunity to give these plays only a hurried and superficial glance on the road to the English drama of the Renaissance and later periods. And even among students taking special courses in the mediaeval drama, far too many lack sufficient familiarity with the Middle English dialects and Middle English verse to read the cycle with the ease and understanding with which an able student of the classics or modern foreign language reads his play in its original form. Then the emphasis which historians of this type have properly placed on the rewriting and revising of individual pageants tends to predispose students to think of a cycle as a patchwork—rather than even as a mosaic.[8] And the anthology of Pre-Shakespearean drama for use in the classroom with the pageants selected from different cycles

[7] J. M. Manly, "The Miracle Play in Mediaeval England," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, Vol. VII (1927), pp. 140-141. Mr. Manly is here using miracle play in the restricted sense of saints' plays.

[8] E. g., E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 145: "There were slavish adapters and there were liberal adapters. But on the whole the literary problem of the plays lies in tracing the evolution of a form rather than in appreciating individual work."

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to form a complete artificial cycle,—a plan essential for any general study of this drama and commendable in other respects,—helps to fix this notion in the beginner's mind. Again, because of the coincident, official Corpus Christi procession and the modern connotation of the term *pageant,* it is often easier to relate these plays to the modern processional spectacle than to drama. Finally, it is impossible to see a performance of any cycle today. By way of comparison, recall the effect of seeing an artistic presentation of *Everyman, Gammer Gurton's Needle,* or any of the numerous revivals of the past few years. I confess to skepticism concerning the dramatic possibilities of *Everyman* until I saw it in Boston a few years ago; and a Cherry Street Theatre production of *The Way of The World* lifted that play for me out of merely scintillating conversation and complicated intrigue into the brilliant drama which Meredith so justly praises. Some time in the future an English town or city, imbued with a spirit akin to that of the Madrigal Singers or other folk societies, may give us a revival of one of the preserved cycles.

Despite the difficulties just enumerated and the tendency of students of the drama to direct our attention to other aspects of these cycles, we should recognize a certain fact: They were intended to be presented. They were presented. They were popular. Granting the importance and validity of the religious theme, which gave them unity and interest, and the arresting quality of the kaleidoscopic change from scene to scene through the medium of the pageant wagons, the pertinent questions are: How much did drama as such contribute to their continued popularity? And how notable a contribution are they to dramatic literature? I believe these questions remain sufficiently unanswered to merit our making a careful and comprehensive analysis of the problem involved. The inclusive question, obviously, is not whether the Corpus Christi cycle is drama. It is rather one of the quality of the dramatic art and of the proportion of dramatic and undramatic material in the production as a whole. Again, do the limitations imposed by the prevailing attitude toward the subject matter, by the current dramatic traditions and conventions, and by the lack of ability of the playwrights result in failure to realize the dramatic values possible?

For the purposes of the approach suggested let a study be made

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of available sources of the text from one definite point of view—the quality of the dramatic art revealed in the composite product.[9] Again, as far as possible, let an attempt be made to approach these plays from the point of view of the interested mediaeval spectator.[10]

Much of the confusion and error concerning English mediaeval drama results from the uncritical and almost entirely unsupported assumption among many literary historians and students in this field that Miracle Play was the term employed for all kinds of religious drama. Accordingly, for our purposes, a first essential is a clear discrimination as to dramatic form. In this respect there are two types to be differentiated from other mediaeval religious drama: the miracle play, a dramatization of the life, sufferings, or miracles of a saint; and the Corpus Christi play, a cosmic drama, presenting the history of mankind from the point of view of Christian doctrine, beginning with the fall of the angels and ending with the judgment day.[11]

[9] As a basis for a first study of this kind I suggest the York cycle. The text of this cycle is clearly identified with the period of greatest popularity of the Corpus Christi plays. As compared with other cycles, the individual 'pageants' are characterized by 'notable independence and originality.' Students have discovered the principal sources and, in many instances, have sifted out the pertinent material. And there is pretty satisfactory information concernng the management, preparation, and presentation of the cycle.

[10] The words of Bailey the Host to the Monk suggest the presence of at least some critics among the spectators who would have been impatient if *solas* had not held its place with *sentence* in the cycle:

> I preye yow hertely, telle us somewhat elles,
> For sikerly, nere clinking of your belles,
> That on your brydel hange on every syde,
> By heven king, that for us alle dyde,
> I sholde er this han fallen doun for slepe,
> Although the slough had never been so depe;
> Than had your tale al be told in vayn.
> For certeinly, as that thise clerkes seyn,
> "Wher-as a man may have noon audience,
> Noght helpeth it to tellen his sentence."
> And wel I woot the substance is in me,
> If any thing shal wel reported be.
>
> *Canterbury Tales*, B, ll. 3983-3994.

[11] See Professor Craig's "The Corpus Christi Procession and the Corpus Christi Play," *op. cit.*, for the most adequate and sensible statement that I know concerning the Corpus Christi play as a distinct form of drama. The

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If after one has read these cycles, he accepts the judgment of Ten Brink concerning them as drama, he will proceed no further on the road over which we are travelling. As observed above,[12] they are composed of the "most hetereogeneous elements," "a work of accident"; "the single play seldom contained anything that could be called a dramatic action"; "the spectators were therefore interested only in the material"; "the whole was rarely or never dramatic." However, I believe we should be adopting the sounder approach if we accepted in part the fact that "these playes have had their triall alreadie, and stood out all appeales." This was the attitude of Aristotle and Lessing as critics of drama and would have been the attitude of an analogous contemporary critic of these cycles. It may be well also to recall the judgment of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Dean of York Cathedral, when he was approached by the city authorities in 1568, during the Reformation, for advice "as to the suitableness of the plays for representation." To him the cycle was a unit to be altered only by a skilled reviser:

> I have perused the bokes that your lordshipp with your brethern sent me, and as I finde manie thinges that I muche like because of th' antiquities, so see I manie thinges that I can not allowe because they be disagreinge from the senceritie of the gospell, *the which thinges, yf they shuld either be altogether cancelled or altered into other matters, the whole drift of the play shuld be altered, and therefore I dare not put my pen unto it, because I want both skill and leasure to amende it.*[13]

Through a study of sources and related literature during the past seventy years, students have discovered significant and essential relationships among the cycles; they have traced their historical continuity from liturgical and non-liturgical origins; they have sifted the material in its relation to the great body of earlier and contemporary dramatic and non-dramatic material—both native

term 'Mystery' play, as is well known, is borrowed from the French mediaeval drama. It was not employed in contemporary Middle English nomenclature. For the miracle play see J. M. Manly, *MP*, IV (1906-07), p. 585 and *op. cit.*, p. 307; G. R. Coffman, "The Miracle Play in England—Nomenclature," *PMLA*, XXXI (1916), pp. 448-465.

[12] See p. 415.

[13] Robert Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York during the Reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III*, (1843), pp. 267-268; quoted also in Spenser, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The italics above are mine.

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and foreign; they have established the dominant place of the national, the local, and the vernacular in the composition of the cycles; they have confirmed the idea of a central theme in the group as a whole; they have considered the nature of the revisions and speculated or presented evidence as to the authors, revisers, or adapters; they have revealed the cycles as the result of a gradual but final and culminating creative process in the development of religious drama in mediaeval England. But no one has studied the sources singly or in combination from the point of view of the dramatic effectiveness of the material selected. Because of the anonymous and composite authorship of the cycles, we cannot study the sources with a view to the art of the individual creator, as is being done so profitably for Chaucer, has been done so ably for Coleridge, and may well be done in a comprehensive way for Shakespeare.[14] But we can come to some conclusion as to the composite quality of dramatic skill, as shown in the selection from varied materials at different times.[15] We may be able to decide whether

[14] Almost any important Chaucerian study of sources made during the past twenty years illustrates the emphasis with which scholars stress this point. From an article which happens to be at hand as I write, I select a significant passage: J. L. Lowes, "The Franklin's Tale, the Teseide, and the Filocolo," *MP*, XV (1918), p. 724: "For we are apt to forget, in our preoccupation with the materials that Chaucer used, that he was, especially at the period when he was treating Italian sources, a very great creative artist in his imaginative handling of these same materials. And in general, except when he is actually translating (as, for example, in the *Second Nun's Tale*, *Melibeus*, and, to a less degree, in the *Man of Law's Tale* and the *Clerk's Tale*) Chaucer deals both independently and enrichingly with the stuff that came to his hand. He adds, omits, substitutes one motivation for another, modifies or completely transforms a character, and interweaves new strands from other fabrics. He follows, in a word, the procedure of all great imaginative writers. Allowing for the differences between the drama and pure narrative, he does precisely what Shakespeare does in such plays as *King Lear* or *As You Like It*. He reconceives his story, and shapes it in accordance with his new and individual conception." For Coleridge, see J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (1927).

[15] See for a basis from studies made: W. A. Craigie, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61: "The above parallels are quite sufficient to prove that the author of the plays cited was familiar with the northern version of the Gospel of Nicodemus. From the general character of his borrowings it seems probable that he had parts of it by heart, and utilized these when opportunity or memory served." G. C. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 15: "It is hardly going too

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dramatic effectiveness or interest in the religious theme was a deciding factor in some important instances. Such a comprehensive study of the sources at hand might add significant contributions to those who have tried to distinguish by stylistic differences between the genuine dramatist and the patch-worker.[16] I venture that we

far when we say that about one-fourth of the great body of material found in York and Towneley cycles is, in the broad sense of the word, lyrical. Chester and Hegge, though not indebted to the lyric so largely as are York and Towneley, are, when we consider them in their entirety, very considerably indebted. Sometimes, as has been suggested, the dramatic lyric contains merely an echo of the lyric proper; sometimes it follows it in thought and phrase more or less closely; sometimes it has been inserted bodily from without, retaining the phrase and rhyme of the original; and very occasionally the lyric may even have formed perhaps the starting-point of certain of the plays." Grace Frank, "Vernacular Sources and an Old French Passion Play," *MLN*, XXXV (1920), p. 268: "Whatever the ultimate sources of the mediaeval drama may have been—and the influence of the Liturgy, the Vulgate, the Apocrypha, the Latin Gospel, Harmonies, and various other theological works including sermons, treatises, commentaries, etc., cannot be denied—it is evident that the immediate sources often lay near at hand, perhaps nearer than is generally assumed." Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, II, 101: "The dependence of the cycles on the *Passion* is one more piece of evidence tending to prove that the plays are not isolated phenomena springing from a Latin Bible, Latin Apocrypha, etc., detached from English Literature, but that the dramatists, like the lyric poets, drew from the common store of English tradition. This store was common property then as it could not be now; for in those days of few books, reading was nearly synonymous with committing to memory, and a poem read was likely to influence plays or poems afterwards written. Therefore the influence of early works like the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Northern Passion*, and the *Gospel* of *Nicodemus*, which can readily be traced on subsequent literature, does not imply actual transcription from a MS. of the older poem on the part of the author, but rather such a recollection of the older phrases as any one might employ in the case of works learned 'by heart.' In this way the playwrights who revised old plays or wrote new ones continually adopted the phaseology, even the incidents, of familiar poems like the *Passion*. Nor is it to be supposed that all the parallels of the plays with vernacular literature have yet been brought to light: the discovery of the influence of the *Northern Passion* raises the hope of finding other English sources for the plays, which will establish even more clearly the close relation of the drama to vernacular literature."

[16] Frances A. Foster, *ibid.*, pp. 100-101: "In the York plays . . . the playwright or playwrights were undoubtedly familiar with the poems, but they had sufficient originality to clothe their borrowings in fresh language . . . In the Hegge cycle, an editor who might almost be called

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shall find among skillful workers an application of the same principle later employed by Shakespeare in his chronicle plays: fidelity to the main events or situations of the Bible or of legendary tradition as presented in the most authoritative or most popular and widely accepted sources of the time; but, with these limitations, an enriching and expansion of the material so as to make it as vivid and authentic as possible from a dramatic point of view.[17]

Any consideration of these plays as drama is bound to lead ultimately to the problem of their influence on early Renaissance and Elizabethan drama. Of the ultimate necessity for such studies and of their value in the history of drama there can be no question. But it is essential to exclude this aspect of the general problem from our study if we are to come to any reliable judgment concerning the dramatic values in the cycles. The importance which Miss Bates, Mr. Gayley, and Mr. Manly have given to this matter in their studies cited has led to an obscuring of the real issue or an assumption of certain conclusions which I believe are still open to question. Professor Bates summarizes much that she has written in her chapter on "Dramatic Values" with the statement: "And with all the other service rendered by the Miracle Cycles, they served the Elizabethan drama well."[18] And Professor Gayley, in contrast to Professor Bates, who tends to emphasize their influence on tragedy, takes the following thesis: "It is as a propaedeutic to comedy, then, rather than tragedy that I prefer to treat the miracle plays. And I find it easier to trace some order of dramatic development by approaching them from this point of view."[19] For our

a playwright, in rewriting early plays reproduced the lines of the *Northern Passion* again and again. Though originality or dramatic technique can scarcely be expected from a mediaeval mender of plays, the awkward reproduction in Hegge of some phrases of the *Passion* is surprising."

[17] With regard to the relative importance of the text, I think there is a misleading statement in the excellent article on revisions in the mystery plays by Dr. Frank, listed in the general bibliography above (*MP*, XV, p. 570): "That the text was far from being the most important element in the pageants, the paucity of references to it, the small sums expended upon it, and, on the other hand, the heavy disbursements for stage properties, the fines for inadequate acting, etc., all eloquently testify." The real point to the fact here indicated is, I believe, that, as in the case of Henslowe's *Diary*, there is relatively little necessity for items concerning such expenditures.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

[19] *Plays of our Forefathers*, p. 147.

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immediate purposes, looking through the Corpus Christi plays to find humor and comedy in them is rather too much like the current method of censorship of books and plays in Boston. Another illustration that occurs to me is not entirely impertinent. A few weeks ago I had the delightful privilege of hearing The Society for the Preservation of Spirituals, from Charleston, South Carolina, render a program of spirituals as they had learned them from the Negroes. If the leader had not emphasized in a brief introductory talk that the one underlying purpose of the chorus was to give a vivid and authentic presentation of the songs as the Negroes actually sang them, many of the audience would have interpreted the artistic rendition which followed as farce, vaudeville, or burlesque. My point is not that there wasn't farce or comedy in the cyclic plays, but that such aspects should be interpreted only in their relation to the general scheme; in other words, in relation to the realistic technique which would make the scene more authentic. Thus, the dramatist might be fully as much concerned with driving a point home as with raising a laugh.

Professor Manly's thesis in the essay from which I quoted above is that in theme and technique the saints' plays "were more important for the development of the drama in England than the great scripture cycles."[20] I am happy to support the thesis of this excellent essay. Saints' legends, and hence miracle plays, represent romance and the romantic element in the history of the Church. Consequently, within the limits of art, the more romantic a miracle play became in its incremental additions of the marvellous, the unusual, the spectacular, the greater its success and its distinctive dramatic quality. Further, a continued development of these elements logically suggested themes and technique for romantic, secular comedy and tragedy. On the other hand, as a general proposition, the scenes in a Corpus Christi cycle became more dramatically effective and powerful in the proportion that they achieved the illusion of the realistic. The validity of the illusion created rested mainly not on "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith," but on the complete acceptance of the theme dramatized as a historical reality and as vital to the life and destiny of the spectator. Hence, in general, the material which the Corpus Christi playwrights selected from

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

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Biblical and extra-Biblical sources as harmonious for their scheme was realistic rather than romantic. Further, because of the essential nature of the theme and the subject matter, the crowning achievement resulted in the best Corpus Christi cycle possible, with only incidental suggestions, at least in theme, for later drama. Consequently, the main influence for later drama was through imitation and adaptation in a radically different field—in miracle plays, the distinctly romantic element in Middle English drama.

But though I agree with Professor Manly in his thesis, I am not ready to accept without examination from the mediaeval point of view or without conclusive evidence, his sweeping condemnation of dramatic values in the cycles, in the passage quoted above beginning, "The scriptural cycles had, in fact, little capacity for developing skill in dramatic composition or a taste for dramatic art."

It would be folly to assign to these plays dramatic values which they do not possess. But let us give them a fair examination from the point of view which I have outlined. We realize that the essence of drama is the appeal to the emotions by the representation of imaginary personages through speech and action. Let us recognize that the emotional appeal in the cycles is not made through the employment of the sensational. Let us grant the failure of the playwrights or revisers to develop certain dramatic situations as secular dramatists, unchecked by the Corpus Christi ideal, could have done. Let us admit the dramatic limitations of successive short scenes. But after that, let us try to discover how the dramatic or emotional appeal was made actually successful. Through acquaintance in literature and other records with the spectators of these plays, through familiarity with mediaeval dramatic conventions, and through an intimate knowledge of the texts preserved, let us make such an attempt to discover that dramatic or emotional appeal. Observe in the York cycle, for example, whether the comparative simplicity maintained and the restraints imposed did not result for the great body of the cycle in dramatic authenticity, vivid directness, and verisimilitude; and whether the proportion of scenes which would have appealed to the mediaeval audience as dramatic does not compare favorably with that in the average drama of other periods.

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THE ORIGINAL MUSIC FOR BEAUMONT'S PLAY *THE KNIGHT OF THE BURNING PESTLE*

By Edwin S. Lindsey

I

The average listener is more interested in the music of a song than in the words. He catches the tune more quickly than the words, is more impressed by it, remembers it longer. Therefore the scholars who reconstruct the Elizabethan drama and seek to recapture the spirit and atmosphere of the Elizabethan theater should study the music of the numerous songs in the plays. In many plays the songs are an important means of creating atmosphere in a scene, characterizing a person, supplying comedy, or advancing the action.[1] Scholars have long recognized the importance of these songs, and much has been written about them.[2]

[1] Here are a few of the many illustrations that could be cited: The atmosphere of tragic foreboding in *Othello*, IV, 3, is intensified by Desdemona's "Willow Song." Lady Haughty in Jonson's *The Silent Woman* is characterized by the song "Still to be neat," I, 1. Sir Toby Belch's fragmentary songs add to the comic effect of *Twelfth Night*, II, 3. In Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, III, the ballad "The Cutpurse" adds comedy and also advances the action. In Jonson's *Volpone*, III, 7, the song "Come, my Celia" characterizes old Volpone, advances the action, and adds atmosphere.

[2] The following items are the most important:

Alden, R. M. *The True Histories of the Knyght of the Burning Pestle*, San Francisco, 1903.

Bridge, Sir Frederick, *Shakespearean Music in the Plays and Early Operas*, New York, 1923.

Cowling, C. H. *Music on the Shakespearean Stage*, Cambridge, 1913.

Elson, L. C. *Shakespeare in Music*, Boston, 1901.

Graves, T. S. "Act Time in the Elizabethan Theater," *Studies in Philology*, XII, 103 ff.

Greg, W. W. "The Authorship of the Songs in Lyly's Plays," *Modern Language Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1906.

Lathrop, H. B. "Shakespeare's Dramatic Use of Songs," *Modern Language Notes*, XXIII, 1-5.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, 1912.

Moore, J. R. "The Function of Songs in Shakespeare's Plays," *University of Wisconsin Studies*, 1916.

Naylor, E. W. *Shakespeare and Music*, London, 1896.

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Several anthologies of the best songs have been made;[3] and many of the songs are ballads which have been studied and printed by the great ballad scholars.[4] In most of this study and writing attention has been centered upon the words of the songs. The words express the idea; the music creates the atmosphere, which is, in a dramatic song, more important than the idea. Therefore we should, as far as we are able, rediscover the original music, so that we may hear the tunes as the groundling heard them. Historians of the drama have been slow to see that, if they wish to enter into the real spirit of the Elizabethan play, they must hear with the *ears* of the man in the pit, not with the *eyes* of the scholar in his study.[5]

Noble, Richard. *Shakespeare's Use of Song*, Oxford University Press, 1923.
Pulver, J. "Did Shakespeare Understand Music?" *Monthly Musical Record*, Jan., 1924.
Roffe. *Handbook of Shakespeare Music.*
Schelling, F. E. *English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, 1927 edition, Chapter XI.
Scholes, P. A. *The Purpose Behind Shakespeare's Use of Music.*

[3] Bell, Robert. *Songs from the Dramatists*, New York, n. d. (before 1889).
Bullen, A. H. *Lyrics from the Dramatists of the Elizabethan Age*, New York, 1889 and 1892.
Carpenter, F. A. *English Lyrics from 1500 to 1700*, London, 1897.
Reed, E. B. *Songs from the British Drama*, New Haven, 1925.
Schelling, F. E., *Elizabethan Lyrics.*
Schelling, F. E. *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, Boston, 1889.

[4] Chappell, William, and Ebsworth, J. W. *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 Vols., 1871-1899.
Child, F. J. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 Vols., Boston, 1882-1894.
Ebsworth, J. W. *The Bagford Ballads*, 2 Vols., Hertford, 1878.
Evans, Thomas, *Old Ballads*, revised edition, 4 Vols., London, 1810.
Percy, Thomas, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 Vols., or Series, first edition, 1765; many later editions.
Rimbault, E. F. *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, London, 1851.
Ritson, J. *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, revised edition, 1877, by W. C. Hazlitt, London.
Rollins, H. E. *Old English Ballads 1553-1625*, Cambridge, 1920.

[5] This neglect of the music is probably due to the average scholar's lack of familiarity with the technique of music, the scarcity of the authentic original tunes, the difficulty of reading the old musical notation and appreciating the nearly obsolete style of the music.

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Shakespeare's songs have been adequately studied from the musical standpoint [6] and from many other aspects.[7] But, even in Shakespeare, the music and the words have been treated more or less separately, not as parts of one organic whole, the song which the theatergoer *hears*. I have attempted to explain both words and music together in an article on the songs in Fletcher's plays,[8] and also in an article on the songs in Ben Jonson's plays.[9] A similar method will be followed in this study of the songs in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. This play is studied because it is an important example of the dramatic burlesque and contains forty songs.[10]

Most of the forty songs are snatches from old ballads. We have today the authentic original music for thirteen of the forty.

They are:

"Nose, nose, jolly red nose"	I, 4
"When it was grown to dark midnight"	II, 8
"I am three merry men and three merry men"	II, 8
"As you came from Walsingham"	II, 8
"He set her on a milk-white steed"	II, 8
"Tell me, dearest, what is love?"	III, 1
"Go from my window, love, go"	III, 5
"Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy"	III, 5

[6] The best book is E. W. Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music*, London, 1896. Naylor reprints the extant original music of Shakespeare's plays and treats his use of songs and the general musical practices of the age.

[7] See the references in note 2.

[8] "The Music of the Songs in Fletcher's Plays," *Studies in Philology*, XXI, 2. The article contains reprints of several of the old tunes. It gives also full definitions of technical musical terms used, and careful analyses of ballad tunes and composers' airs, with examples. The substance of the analyses of typical tunes and airs is briefly repeated in this paper, since it is necessary to an understanding of the music.

[9] "The Music in Ben Jonson's Plays," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIV, 2.

[10] Dr. R. M. Alden's little book, *The True Histories of the Knyght of the Burning Pestle*, San Francisco, 1903, names the original tunes for some of the songs. But a number of the extant tunes are not mentioned, and there is little discussion of the music. The book was intended only as an annotated program or souvenir of the revival of *The Knight* in 1903, and it does not pretend to be complete. For example, nothing is said about the setting of the important song "Tell me, dearest, what is love?." I asked Dr. Alden personally why he had omitted this song, and he replied that he did not know it, that he had mentioned only the tunes which were easily available in Chappell. (For Chappell, see note 12.)

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"I came not hither for thee to teach"	III, 5
"You are no love for me, Margaret"	III, 5
"Ho, ho, nobody at home"	IV, 5
"Sing we and chant it"	V, 3
"Fortune, my foe"	V, 3

This music is enough to give a clear idea of the style of all the songs in the play. "Tell me, dearest, what is love?" is a composer's air. "Ho, ho, nobody at home" is a catch or round. "Sing we and chant it" is a fragment of a madrigal. The remaining pieces are ballad tunes.

The distinctive features of ballad tunes, airs, rounds, and madrigals must be pointed out. The ballad tune is the oldest of the four types and the most interesting to the modern ear. The ballad tune is simple in form, rhythm, and melody;[11] it has no harmony or counterpoint in its original state. The simplicity of the ballad tune is explained by its origin. Nearly every tune is the product of an unknown, unschooled composer of popular music. Ballad tunes were composed by common men for common men. In Elizabethan days trained composers scorned the simple and lowly ballad tune. Chappell[12] tells us that rhythmical ballads were set to dance tunes by low class composers. High class scholastic composers wrote

[11] Since the terms form, rhythm, time, accent are often loosely employed, their functions, in the sense used here, need some definite explanation. *Accent* distinguishes a heterogeneous mass of notes as long and short, or accented and unaccented; thus accent in music corresponds to accent in prosody. *Time* divides the notes so distinguished by accent into groups of equal length; thus time corresponds to the grouping of syllables into poetic feet. *Rhythm* arranges the groups of notes into larger units called musical phrases; thus rhythm corresponds to metre, the grouping of feet into verses or lines. *Form* is the outline or structure of the piece of music made by grouping several musical phrases together; form corresponds to stanza structure. For instance, a piece of music in the *Double-period form*, that is four musical phrases, corresponds to a stanza of four verses.

[12] Chappell, William (1809-1888) is the great authority on old English popular music. He has collected and published, with extensive annotation, nearly all the ballad tunes which have survived in manuscript or in old printed form. His *History of the Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 Vols., 1855, 1859, forms the basis of most of our knowledge of old ballad tunes. The book was later rëedited by H. E. Wooldridge and republished as *Old English Popular Music*, 2 Vols., 1893. In this article the page references are to Volume I of the original edition.

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elaborate contrapuntal music; not until the time of Charles II did they deign to set common ballads.

The form of a ballad tune is the double-period, which consists of four musical phrases; usually the phrases are of equal length. The double-period form corresponds to the ordinary four-line stanza in which most ballads are written. It fits the ballad stanza accurately, and its regularity makes it comprehensible to the untrained ear. It appeals to man's inborn instinct for symmetry and balance. The rhythms of ballad tunes are also simple and regular; they are suited to verses in iambic or trochaic metres, the customary ballad measures.

Some ballad tunes have the melody in the major tonality, some in the minor; some shift from major to minor in a way that is bewildering to modern ears. The range is usually narrow, not over a tenth; and the whole style of the melody is simple enough for the untrained singer to grasp easily. No accompaniments were provided by the composers; but the singer might improvise an accompaniment of a few chords strummed on a lute or a simple bass played on a lute or viol. The composer of a ballad tune did not write down the melody or publish it; he sang and played it. Oral tradition spread it and preserved it, sometimes for generations.[13]

The simplicity of the ballad tune in form, rhythm, and melody; its regularity, clearness and vigor; the accord between its musical accents and the word-emphasis—all characteristics of this type of music—are illustrated well in the tune called "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter," or simply "The Shepherd's Daughter."[14] Ballad tunes are the most important type of music found in *The Knight.*

[13] Some of the well known ballad tunes were used by scholastic composers as themes for elaborate sets of variations for the virginals, a forerunner of the modern piano, or for contrapuntal pieces for "consorts" of instruments. Most of the oldest ballad tunes are thus preserved in old collections of virginal music, such as the so-called *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book* in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. In this book are three tunes used in *The Knight:* "Fortune," "Walsingham," and "Go from my Window." In retrieving the original tunes we have to discard the harmony, counterpoint, and variations added by the scholastic composers.

[14] This tune is printed in Chappell, p. 127. It is reprinted (with

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A second type of music, the composer's air, is represented in *The Knight* by "Tell me, dearest, what is love?" Composers' airs are the Elizabethan equivalent of modern concert songs, music for cultivated audiences, "classical" music. The airs were made by educated composers for poets of education and high standing. Many of these composers are still known, and some of their works are preserved in manuscript or in print. Airs differ from ballad tunes in about the same way that the words for airs differ from ballads. They are more complicated, more polished, more artificial.

Some airs are very elaborate in form, some are comparatively simple. At present we are interested only in the simple form, as illustrated by "Tell me, dearest, what is love?." This air has the form of a phrase-group, that is, six regular musical phrases, each corresponding to one of the trochaic tetrameter verses in the stanza. The rhythm and accents are regular. The melody is rather simple, more simple than in most of the airs. In this air, as in all the best airs, the melody seems to be specially designed for a particular set of words and arranged so as to aid in bringing out the *meaning* as well as the rhythm of the words.[15]

Composers' airs are intended to be sung with instrumental accompaniment. The composers, therefore, wrote down the melody and the bass. From these two parts the well-trained Elizabethan instrumentalist knew how to supply the inner parts necessary to complete the harmony.[16] The music of "Tell me, dearest, what is love?," as preserved in the Jacobean manuscript,[17] has the usual

different words) with an analysis of the music in my article on Fletcher's songs (*Studies in Philology*, XXI, p. 331). In *The Knight*, II, 8, the stanza "He set her on a milk-white steed" is sung to this tune.

[15] This feature is unknown in ballad music, where one tune often serves for many ballads of diverse content and spirit.

[16] If the chords needed were difficult or unusual, the composer wrote figures over the bass notes to indicate the proper chords. This system of musical shorthand is still used in exercises for students of harmony.

[17] According to J. Stafford Smith, the air is from a MS. of the time of James I in Smith's possession. In his *Musica Antiqua*, London, 1812, p. 55, Smith prints the air exactly as it stands in the MS., including several errors in notation. I have corrected the errors in notation and reprinted the air in my article on Fletcher's songs, *Studies in Philology*, XXI, 2.

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air and bass. Minor harmony is indicated for most of the air,[18] and there is a bit of counterpoint too.[19]

A third type of music in *The Knight* is the catch or round, represented by "Ho, ho, nobody at home." Rounds were very popular in England for many generations, and scores of Elizabethan rounds are still extant. No explanation of rounds is necessary, for every one has sung rounds or heard them sung by school children. The majority of rounds are in three parts. A round is a piece of contrapuntal music which is mechanically perfect, because there is a perfect series of *punctus contra punctus,* (point against point), that is note against note.[20]

Fourth, and last, of the types of music in *The Knight* is the madrigal, represented by only a fragment of "Sing we and chant it" by Thomas Morley.[21] Madrigals, the most important type of high class Elizabethan secular music, are elaborate contrapuntal compositions for three or more voices, usually for five voices, as in this madrigal.[22] The fragment of "Sing we and chant it" will be treated later in its proper position in the play.

II

Before discussing each song whose music is extant I shall summarize the plot of *The Knight,* in order that the connection between the songs and the action may be clearer. *The Knight* is a burlesque of chivalry and romance in general, with special application to the contemporary romantic plays in which London

[18] Old English music uses the minor mode more frequently than the major; and much of the music which is technically major may sound minor to our ears because so many secondary triads are used. These secondary triads are inherited from the older contrapuntal music. See G. W. Chadwick, *Harmony,* Boston, 1897, p. 32.

[19] Canon of the octave between the melody and the bass in measures 10-14.

[20] Technically called counterpoint in unison.

[21] From his *First Book of Ballets for Five Voices,* 1595 and 1600. A "ballet" is a madrigal, not a ballad.

[22] Edmund H. Fellowes, greatest modern authority on Elizabethan madrigals, has republished all the notable madrigal music of England in his great work, *The English Madrigal School,* London, 36 vols. The words he has also reprinted separately in his *English Madrigal Verse,* Oxford, 1920. This book also contains the words of nearly 600 lute songs, which belong to the class of music called "composers' airs" in this paper.

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apprentices perform impossible and ridiculous deeds of valor. In many of the scenes there is a marked resemblance to the burlesque of chivalry in *Don Quixote,* which appeared two years before the play.[28] *The Knight* is a play within a play. The actors are about to present *The London Merchant,* when a citizen and his wife in the audience interrupt the prologue, climb up on the stage, and demand that the play be called *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and that a part be given to their apprentice Ralph, whose histrionic ability they praise loudly. In spite of the repeated protests of the actors, Ralph appears again and again as the Knight of the Burning Pestle, much to the delight of the citizen and his wife, who make outspoken comments on every thing which takes place on the stage. Since practically all of Ralph's scenes interfere with the main action of the play, are entirely irrelevant, and contain no songs, they are omitted in the following summary of the plot.

The London merchant, Venturewell, discharges his apprentice Jasper, because Jasper has dared to love Luce, Venturewell's daughter, whom Venturewell has promised to his friend Humphrey. After this misfortune Jasper is denied the blessing of his mother, Mistress Merrythought; but he receives the blessing of his father, jolly old Merrythought, and goes off to make his fortune. Mistress Merrythought takes her favorite son Michael into the forest and shows him a casket of money and jewels she is saving for him. Frightened by the sudden appearance of Ralph in his knight's armor, Mistress Merrythought flees, leaving the casket, which Jasper later finds.

Luce, in order to escape from Humphrey, promises to marry him and then persuades him to undertake the romantic exploit of carrying her off from her father's house to the forest. In the forest Jasper meets them, drives away the cowardly Humphrey and takes Luce.

Old Merrythought, although bankrupt and deserted by his wife, is singing gaily in his home when Venturewell enters and reproaches him because his son Jasper has stolen Luce. Merrythought receives Venturewell scornfully, and the latter soon leaves in a rage.

[28] The question of the influence of the Spanish romance on the English play is outside our field at present, but the resemblance is too obvious to miss.

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The scene changes back to the forest, where the lovers Jasper and Luce are lost. Weary and disconsolate, they try to comfort themselves by singing "Tell me, dearest, what is love?" Suddenly Venturewell's men appear, overpower Jasper and carry Luce back to her father.

In the meantime, Merrythought has refused to allow his wandering wife to return to his house.

In order to rescue Luce from her father's house, Jasper gives it out that he is dying. Later a coffin is brought to Luce, who thinks it contains Jasper's body. She laments and sings a dirge. Then the coffin opens and Jasper rises. He puts Luce in the coffin in his place and thus has her carried away.

Cutting back to Merrythought, the next scene shows him walking the streets, penniless and hungry but still singing happily.

Jasper then appears before Venturewell, posing as a ghost, and frightens Venturewell into driving Humphrey from the house. In the final scenes the coffin containing Luce is brought to Merrythought's house, followed by Jasper. Merrythought, relenting, admits his wife and Michael after she has sung a song for him. Venturewell, likewise admitted after singing for Merrythought, begs forgiveness for having, as he supposes, caused the death of Jasper. Merrythought promptly forgives him. Jasper and Luce then appear and are united with the blessings of all. Merrythought closes the play with a merry song beginning

> Better music ne'er was known
> Than a choir of hearts in one.

III

Let us return to the songs. Old Merrythought sings most of the forty songs, including eleven out of the thirteen whose original music is extant.[24] He makes his first appearance heralded by a snatch of melody;[25] and in every scene in which he appears he sings a number of songs.[26] In discussing the songs with the extant music

[24] The extant songs not sung by Merrythought are "Tell me, dearest, what is love?," duet by Jasper and Luce in III, 1; and "Fortune, my foe," ballad by Venturewell in V, 3.

[25] Act I, scene 4.

[26] Four in I, 4; eleven in II, 8; five in III, 5; four in IV, 5; thirteen in V, 3 (the last scene).

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I shall give the words and their sources; explain the nature, source, and authenticity of the music; show how the music fits the words; and explain how the song as a whole contributes to the action, atmosphere, or characterization in the scene.

Merrythought sings his first bit of melody behind the scenes

> Nose, nose, jolly red nose,
> And who gave thee this jolly red nose?

Mistress Merrythought, on the stage, interrupts with a speech. Then Merrythought enters and resumes his song

> Nutmegs and ginger, cinnamon and cloves,
> And they gave me this jolly red nose.

These four lines are the last half of the first stanza of an old ballad called "Of all the birds," published by Thomas Ravenscroft in *Deuteromelia,* 1609.[27] The tune is also called "Of all the birds;" it is published with the words in *Deuteromelia.*[28] Merrythought uses the refrain of the tune (last eight measures) for his song. Since the tunes published in *Deuteromelia* were already old, we may safely assume that this particular tune for "Of all the birds" was used by Merrythought in 1607-8.

The verses are very irregular, a conglomeration of trochees, dactyls, amphibrachs, with several catalectic and several truncated feet. Nevertheless the general effect of the stanza is rhythmical. The tune, like most ballad tunes, is quite regular in form and rhythm, and strongly accented. The musical effect is that of a lively waltz, swinging along briskly and cheerfully, jolly music for a jolly song introducing a jolly character.

At his next appearance[29] Merrythought sings eleven songs. He enters with:

> When it was grown to dark midnight,
> And all were fast asleep,
> In came Margaret's grimly ghost,
> And stood at William's feet.

---

[27] A collection of old ballads and rounds compiled by Ravenscroft. "Of all the birds" is one of the "King Henry's Mirth or Freemen's Songs" in the volume.

[28] Whence it is copied by Chappell, p. 75. Here the ballad and the tune have the same title. Often, however, each has a different title, as in the case of many hymns used today.

[29] Act II, scene 8.

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This is a variant stanza from the ballad of "Fair Margaret and Sweet William."[30] Chappell copied the music from a manuscript of the time of Queen Anne. He thinks that the tune is much older than the manuscript, because it is composed in the style of the old ballad tunes. The fact that the tune is set to old words and is composed in the old style of ballad music is very strong evidence that it is older than the manuscript. English popular tunes were very long-lived. The transient "popular hits" of today had no counterpart in the old days, when tunes were often treasured and used for many generations. We are fairly justified in believing with Chappell that this tune "Fair Margaret and Sweet William" was current in 1607-8 and therefore available for *The Knight.*

The tune is slow, melancholy, rather mysterious in atmosphere and therefore very appropriate for the ballad. In spite of its unusual form and the rather complex word-and-music relationships within each line,[31] the tune has the unity and balance which is the distinguishing mark of ballad music and is not characteristic of other types of old English music.

The dramatic function of the song is not very clear. In the ballad, Margaret dies after William has deserted her for another girl, and her ghost appears to William, as narrated in the stanza sung by Merrythought. This may have some dramatic reference to the break between Merrythought and his wife; it may show his momentary remorse for having driven her away from home. Or it may simply show that his head is full to overflowing with the popular ballads.

Whatever the function of that song may be, the next three songs, as well as the ensuing dialogue, show us that Merrythought remains happy in spite of his misfortunes, or at least that he makes a great show of being merry. He sings the old line:

[30] Stanza five of the A version of Child, ballad No. 74. Both the words and the music are published in *Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. III, pp. 669 ff. Chappell is the editor of this volume.

[31] Form of five musical phrases instead of the usual four. Last line of stanza repeated to furnish words for fifth phrase. Iambic verse (duple rhythm) coordinated with triple rhythm music by subdivision of many of the musical beats in order to squeeze in extra syllables. This makes the musical phrases less regular than usual, but the characteristic balance of phrases is present. The third exactly balances the first; the fourth exactly balances the second. The fifth is a repetition of the fourth in rhythm, with a change of tones.

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I am three merry men, and three merry men!

The complete refrain from which this line comes is sung in Peele's *The Old Wives Tale, circa* 1590, in the opening scene:

> **Three merry men, and three merry men,**
> **And three merry men be we;**
> **I in the wood, and thou on the ground,**
> **And Jack sleeps in the tree.**

Chappell gives the tune, saying that it is "contained in a manuscript common-place book, in the handwriting of John Playford, the publisher of *The Dancing Master*."[32] Naylor also furnishes the music, stating that it is from one of John Playford's publications of about 1650 but may be older than the date of publication.[33] There is no direct proof that the tune is older than 1650, but the following points favor an earlier date: First, ballad tunes were not published until they were already old and well known. Second, the Playfords published and republished much old music. Third, the refrain appears in plays only between the dates 1590 and 1616.[34] Fourth, this tune is the only tune extant under the title "Three merry men."

The tune is simple and regular in form, major in tonality, gay and lively in effect, admirably fitted to intensify the impression of Merrythought's gaiety.

After "Three merry men," Merrythought sings two more gay songs, "Troul the black bowl to me" and "'Tis mirth that fills the veins with blood." Then Venturewell appears to upbraid Merrythought because Jasper has stolen Luce. In the ensuing dialogue Merrythought punctuates his every speech with a song, quoting, or deliberately misquoting, appropriate fragments from eight old ballads. He almost converts his end of the dialogue into song. Of all these fragments we have music for only two, "As you

[32] Chappell, p. 216. John Playford, the elder, and his son Henry Playford were the chief music publishers of England for about fifty years, from 1651, when John Playford published the first edition of *The English Dancing Master*. See Grove, Sir George, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, revised edition, Philadelphia, 1918, III, 771-772.

[33] Naylor, p. 189.

[34] Peele, *The Old Wives Tale, circa* 1590; Dekker and Webster, *Westward Hoe*, 1607; Barrey, *Ram Alley*, 1611; Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother, circa* 1616.

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came from Walsingham," and "He set her on a milk-white steed." [35]

The tune "Walsingham" was very popular in the sixteenth century. Our copy comes from *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book*.[36] The words sung by Merrythought are a slight variant of the first stanza of the ballad, "As you come from the Holy Land," [37] a mournful narrative of a pilgrim seeking his lady love, who has deserted him because he is getting old. The tune is in the minor mode, slow and plaintive, very appropriate to the sad story. Merrythought sings this song to deride Venturewell. The parallel between the old pilgrim deserted by his lady and old Venturewell deserted by his daughter would strike home to Venturewell and to the Elizabethan audience. To make the sting even more bitter, Merrythought sings the song before Venturewell has a chance to say that Luce is gone, and thus shows that Merrythought already knows and approves of the elopement.

The other song in this scene for which we have the music is "He set her on a milk-white steed." The words are a variant of the twenty-second stanza of the ballad, "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter," as printed by Percy.[38] According to the ballad, a knight, Sir William, betrays a girl who is supposed to be the daughter of a poor shepherd. She appeals to the King, who orders Sir William to marry her. Disgusted at having to marry "a shepherd's brat,"

> He set her on a milk-white steed,
> And himself upon a grey;
> He never turn'd his face again,
> But he bore her quite away.

Later the girl proves that she is the daughter of a duke, and they are happily married.

The music of this ballad has already been mentioned as a typical

[35] The last song in the scene, "Was never man for lady's sake," was sung to the tune "Was ever man soe tost in love," according to Chappell. See pp. 171-172. But Chappell got the tune from a ballad opera dating from 1730, and he offers no real evidence that the tune is as old as *The Knight*.

[36] By way of Chappell, p. 121.

[37] In Percy's *Reliques*, Series the Second, Book I, Number 16.

[38] Percy's *Reliques*, Series the Third, Book I, Number XIII.

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ballad tune, slow, regular, vigorous, in the minor mode. It comes to us from *The Dancing Master*.[39]

By singing the "milk-white steed stanza" in a mocking fashion, Merrythought supplies Venturewell with details of the elopement; and, by the sad music, he makes fun of Venturewell's grief and distress.

Passing to Act III, scene 1, we find the song which Jasper and Luce sing to raise their drooping spirits when they are lost in Waltham Forest:

Jasp. Tell me, dearest, what is love?
Luce 'Tis a lightning from above;
'Tis an arrow, 'tis a fire,
'Tis a boy they call Desire;
'Tis a smile,
Doth beguile
Jasp. The poor hearts of men that prove.

There is a second stanza expressing the idea that women are neither more nor less fickle in love than men are. The form of the stanzas and the sophisticated sentiment both point to a cultivated writer, rather than to a ballad maker. Neilson thinks that Fletcher wrote this scene from *The Knight*.[40] The music, by an unknown but well trained composer, is preserved in a Jacobean manuscript.[41] It has already been discussed as an example of the simple airs by trained composers.

Merrythought appears again in Act III, scene 5, this time with five songs. Mistress Merrythought returns home and finds him revelling and singing with his boon companions:

If you will sing, and dance, and laugh,
And hollow, and laugh again,
And then cry, "There, boys, there!" why, then,
One, two, three, and four,
We shall be merry within this hour.

Merrythought refuses to let his wife into the house:

Go from my window, love, go;
Go from my window, my dear!

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[39] By way of Chappell, pp. 126-127.

[40] Neilson, W. A., *The Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*, Boston, 1911, notes on p. 858.

[41] See note 17.

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The wind and the rain
Will drive you back again;
You cannot be lodged here.

After more quarrelling:

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,
Begone, my love, my dear!
The weather is warm,
'Twill do thee no harm:
Thou canst not be lodged here.

The citizen's wife rebukes Merrythought; he replies with:

I came not hither for thee to teach,
I have no pulpit for thee to preach,
I would thou hadst kist me under the breach,
As thou art a lady gay.

He sings to his wife:

You are no love for me, Margaret,
I am no love for you.

and, with a call to his fellows, makes his exit with a devil-may-care flourish.

We have the authentic music for all except the first of these songs. "Go from my window, love, go" is from a ballad "Goe from the windowe goe," licensed to John Wolfe, March 4, 1588.[42] The tune, from *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book*,[43] is slow, vigorous in rhythm, major in tonality. Into its four regular musical phrases must be fitted the five lines of verse. To this end the third and fourth verses are crowded into the third musical phrase, which is split up into many rapid notes; and the other verses are lengthened by having their final syllables drawled over several musical beats. This rough-and-ready method is crude but acceptable in a ballad tune.

The next song, "Begone, begone, etc.," is the second stanza of a long song beginning "Begone, begone, my Willie, my Billie" which was printed at the end of Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, a play performed about 1605 and printed in 1608.[44] Heywood says in a

[42] Rollins, Hyder E., "*An Analytical Index*," *etc.*, in *Studies in Philology*, XXI, 1, p. 88; and Chappell, p. 140.

[43] Given by Chappell, pp. 140-142.

[44] Note at the beginning of the play in the Mermaid edition.

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note that the song was added by Valerius, the merry old Roman lord. Valerius, like Merrythought, sings many songs and furnishes most of the fun of the play. The performer probably added "Begone, begone" because the song was popular at the time. Durfey prints the song, with the tune, in his *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1707.[45] Durfey's tune is the same as that traditionally associated with Ophelia's song in *Hamlet*, "Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's Day." Evidently the same tune was used by Valerius, Merrythought, and Ophelia.[46] The tune is perfectly regular in form, a gay, jig-like piece in fast 6/8 time, major tonality.

After "Begone, begone" there are a few lines of dialogue, including the rebuke of the citizen's wife, which Merrythought answers by singing "I came not hither for thee to teach." Since this song comes immediately after "Begone, begone," is sung in the same abusive mood, and has the same metrical form, I think it was sung to the same tune.

Merrythought's next fragment

> You are no love for me, Margaret,
> I am no love for you.

is a parody on the lines

> I see no harm by you, Margaret,
> And you see none by me.

which are in the ballad "Fair Margaret and Sweet William."[47] Merrythought would sing here the first half of the tune of "Fair Margaret etc," which has already been discussed in connection with the song "When it was grown to dark midnight."

In the scene just discussed there is a double dramatic function for the songs. They express most of Merrythought's share of the dialogue; and they intensify his mocking and abusive manner.

[45] Durfey, Thomas, *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1707, Vol. II, p. 44.

[46] *Hamlet* was played about five years before *The Knight*. Chappell reprints Durfey's tune to Ophelia's words and says that it is printed in *Pills* to the song from *Lucrece*. See Chappell, p. 227. Naylor also reprints the tune, but is not certain that it dates from Shakespeare's time. See p. 196. I believe the tune is of Shakespeare's and Heywood's time, because the words certainly are; and Durfey reprints old tunes for old words. Durfey often writes new words for old tunes, but never new tunes for old words.

[47] Second stanza of the A version of Child, ballad No. 74.

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"Go from my window" and "You are no love for me" have tunes which are serious yet easily turned into burlesque. The other two songs are to a tune which is gay and rather heartless in its very nature.

Merrythought appears again in Act IV, scene 5, penniless, hungry and thirsty, but still merry. After singing snatches of three ballads, for which we have no music preserved, he calls on two boys to join him in a catch:

> Let's have a catch; boy, follow me, come sing this catch.
> Ho, ho, nobody at home!
> Meat, nor drink, nor money have I none.
> Fill the pot, Eady; never more need I.

The music for this catch, or round, which was published in *Pammelia,* 1609, two years after *The Knight,* is practically certain to be the authentic music, because the pieces in *Pammelia* were already old and popular when the book came out.[48] The tune of the catch is gay, vigorous, fast moving, major in tonality. When sung by the three voices it gives a musical effect of merry disorder, jolly scramble, gay chase. Such an effect suits the situation and the characters.

In the last scene of the play, Act V, scene 3, there are fourteen songs, closely incorporated into the dialogue. Merrythought gives most of his speeches as songs. In this scene all the characters are reconciled to one another, and the play ends happily with Merrythought's song beginning

> Better music ne'er was known
> Than a choir of hearts in one.

Of all the fourteen songs we possess the authentic music for only two, "Sing we and chant it," and "Fortune, my foe." Merrythought, who is still penniless and thirsty, yet merry, sings

> Sing we and chant it;
> Whilst love doth grant it.

These are the opening lines of a "ballet," that is a madrigal, by

[48] Ravenscroft, Thomas, *Pammelia,* London, 1609. This is a collection of popular songs, including rounds or catches and ballads, most of which were already old in 1609. Ravenscroft is merely the collector or editor, not the composer, of most of the pieces. The famous old children's song "Three blind mice" is in *Pammelia.*

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Thomas Morley, published in 1595 and long popular.[49] "Sing we and chant it" has a gay little melody, like a lively waltz; the triple rhythm agrees well with the metre of the verse. The dramatic function of the song seems to be characterization of Merrythought, gay even after prolonged distress.

When Mistress Merrythought begs to be taken back into the house, Merrythought forces her to sing for him; she thus signifies, I suppose, her acceptance of his merry manners which she had criticized before. She chooses the famous ballad, "It was a Lady's Daughter of Paris properly."[50] The music is not extant.

When Venturewell, frightened by the supposed ghost of Jasper, comes to beg forgiveness of Merrythought, the latter makes him sing too. The song serves the double purpose of satisfying Merrythought and expressing Venturewell's state of mind. In the text of the play we find these words:

> *Venturewell* (within) Well, sir, I'll sing. (sings)
> "Fortune, my foe, etc."

The "etc." is significant; it indicates that the ballad was so well known that Beaumont did not need to quote it in full. The ballad is very long; probably Venturewell sings only the first stanza, which runs:

> Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown on me
> And will my fortune never better be:
> Wilt thou, I say, forever breed my pain?
> And wilt thou not restore my joys again?

The complete ballad may be found in The Bagford Ballads.[51]

The tune for the ballad was old and popular. Naylor reprints it with this comment:

[49] Morley, Thomas, *First Book of Ballets for Five Voices*, 1595 and 1600. Morley is a prominent composer of the period. Although "Sing we and chant it" is a madrigal in contrapuntal style for five voices, the music for the first two verses is harmonic rather than contrapuntal in style. Therefore the "cantus" or leading voice, could be effectively sung alone, as Merrythought sings it. "Sing we and chant it" has been made fairly familiar to America in recent years by the English Singers, who have sung it frequently in concert and made a phonograph record of it.

[50] See *Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. I, p. 35. The ballad was entered in 1586.

[51] Vol. II, pp. 961 ff.

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> This old tune is, at latest, of Elizabeth's day, and most likely much older . . . the harmony is by Byrd, who wrote variations on it for *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book*.[52]

Chappell also reprints the tune.[53] The tune is twice as long as the average ballad tune; it is regular in rhythm, minor in tonality, slow, mournful in effect, as suits the words of the ballad.[54]

To summarize: There are forty songs in *The Knight*. The original music for thirteen of them is extant. This includes eight ballad tunes (used for ten songs in *The Knight*), one composer's air, one round or catch, one madrigal. Thus the music represents all the chief types of Elizabethan secular music. Each song definitely serves one or more of the dramatic functions of intensifying the atmosphere of the scene, characterizing a person, supplying comedy, or advancing the action. The songs are not inserted at random; they are an integral part of the artistic plan of the play. They are even more important in *The Knight* than in other Elizabethan plays, because they are so numerous and so attractive musically, and because most of them are sung by the chief character of the play. Finally, a knowledge of the musical effect of these songs is necessary to a full understanding of the stage effect of *The Knight*.

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[52] Naylor, p. 195. William Byrd (1543-1623) was one of the greatest Elizabethan composers, a versatile writer and the equal of the greatest contemporary composers of other countries. See W. S. Pratt *The History of Music*, New York, 1907, p. 146.

[53] Chappell, p. 162.

[54] Many other mournful or tragic ballads were sung to this tune, the most famous being "Titus Andronicus's Complaint," a ballad even more gory and horrible than the play. See Percy's *Reliques*, Series the First, Book II, Number XIII. In 1656 a ballad was entered, to this tune, called "Aim not too high;" and after that date the tune was sometimes called "Fortune," sometimes called "Aim not too high."

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WORDSWORTH AND WILLIAM FLEETWOOD'S *SERMONS*

By Abbie F. Potts

In *The Prelude* Wordsworth confesses that he has omitted much —"of books how much!"—from his record of "the discipline and consummation of a poet's mind." Therefore the following note in his copy of John Chetwind's *Anthologia Historica*,[1] now in my possession, may still yield evidence or illustration. The note, I infer, was written about 1799-1800. It reads, "See Fleetwood of Self-Murder," and refers to a volume published in 1705 by William Fleetwood, then Rector of St. Augustine's, London, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty: *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants, Considered in Sixteen Sermons: with Three more upon the Case of Self-Murther.*

Whatever personal or social problem or literary quest impelled Wordsworth to the careful and memorable reading of this volume, the results of his study, it seems to me, can be clearly detected in the works which he composed at Racedown: *Guilt and Sorrow* with that episode of it published in 1798 as *The Female Vagrant*, *The Borderers* and its prefatory essay, and *The Ruined Cottage*. Moreover, throughout *Vaudracour and Julia*, the episode of the Old Soldier in the fourth book of *The Prelude*, *Old Man Traveling*, and *Anecdote for Fathers*, and in a few passages of *The Excursion* and *The Prelude*, the doctrine of Fleetwood is to be traced, and frequently also his diction. When the young poet finally brought the books of modern Statists—Godwin, for instance—"to test of solid life and true result,"[2] Queen Anne's Chaplain may have helped him substantially in his search "for good in the familiar face of life" as basis for his "hopes of good to come," may have redirected him to

> the very world, which is the world
> Of all of us, the place in which, in the end,
> We find our happiness, or not at all.

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[1] Cf. *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, VI, 202.

[2] In quoting from *The Prelude*, I give the earlier reading as found in the edition by Ernest de Selincourt, 1926.

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These are the tests, the search, and the very world recommended in Fleetwood's *Sermons;* witness the Epistle Dedicatory:

> The design of Christianity is to make people happy in this world as well as in another; and the way it takes to do this is to make them good and virtuous whilst they live, by the discharge of all the relations they stand in to each other, whether natural, civil, or contracted; *i. e.*, by performing their duty to their neighbor.

From Wordsworth's explicit mention of the sermons on Self-Murder we may infer that suicide as one alternative for human misery had occurred to him, perhaps during the period of mental perplexity and emotional disturbance following his own imprudent life in France. Now suicide breaks all relationships; and hence it is the undeniable instance of a selfish as opposed to a communal or traditional procedure. Granted extreme distress, whatever the cause, the choice between self-murder and suffering remains the ultimate trial of opposite codes, derived from opposite theories of life. When Wordsworth wrote of Vaudracour, the "Murderer," and Julia, to whom "Self-slaughter seemed her only resting-place," he was undoubtedly probing this opposition between self and the group. Although he substitutes the convent for self-slaughter in Julia's case, he professes not to know whether the end of their tale is suffering or peace. But even in blaming their woes on those who caused them, he does not hide the destructive nature of the woes themselves. Vaudracour's remorse and dejection were passions as selfish and injurious as were the arrogance and heartlessness of his father; and there was little to admire in Julia, vehemently indignant, plaintive, upbraiding her lover's slackness and indifferent to the consoling tenderness of her guardian. The Female Vagrant, however, confessed that she had "abused" her "inner self." "In deep despair, by frightful wishes stirred"—and this must indicate suicidal intentions—she had withdrawn to the sea-side, where she was rescued through no will of her own. And if the Vagrant was self-abused, Margaret of *The Ruined Cottage* was "self-occupied." Aware of her own responsibility for her ill-husbandry, she acknowledged that she had done much harm to herself and to her helpless infant. Surely here, not less than in the story of the Vagrant, pity provokes thoughts "to virtue friendly," as the Wanderer reminds us; and Wordsworth warns us in the Preface to *The Borderers* not to blame our malig-

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nant passions and their unfortunate effects on the injuries which have aroused the passions. That would be, he says, to attribute the vessel's progress "to the ropes which first towed her out of harbor." [8] On this principle, then, Wordsworth must have judged the woman for whom self-slaughter was the only resting-place and the women self-abused and self-occupied as the result of sorrow and despair; out of his understanding of their weakness he was to create the victorious sufferer, Emily of *The White Doe of Rylstone.*

In his delineation of the men of the early poems, too, Wordsworth finally arbitrates between self-assertion and selfish passion on the one hand and submission and suffering on the other. From the lips of the Old Soldier who was perhaps originally conceived as Margaret's returning husband there issued sounds "as if of pain or of uneasy thought; yet still his form kept the same steadiness." His trust, he said, was "in the God of Heaven," and in the eye of passing men. The Old Man traveling, even more calmly triumphant,

> does not move with pain, but moves
> With thought.—He is insensibly subdued
> To settled quiet: . . . one to whom
> Long patience hath such mild composure given,
> That patience now doth seem a thing of which
> He hath no need.

But most important of all these pained and thoughtful sufferers are the Sailor of *Guilt and Sorrow* and Marmaduke of *The Borderers,* both sinned against and both sinning. Is it not then significant that both finally renounced selfish measures and chose the communal procedure?—in the first instance, submission to a political code—the courts of justice and "the murderer's fate," and in the second, submission to a religious code—expiation. The Sailor "groaned aloud, 'O God, that I were dead!'," but he did not kill himself. Marmaduke, "a man by pain and thought compelled to live," set aside the "less patient" way of falling on his own sword's point, and in expiation chose to wander over the same waste and wild to which he had committed his innocent victim,

[8] In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* 597 (November, 1926), 723-41. My study of Fleetwood was completed before the text of Wordsworth's essay was printed. I could, therefore, use the essay and Professor de Selincourt's commentary to check my own conclusions.

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Herbert. Where Oswald had "shaken off the obligations of religion and morality" and made a creed of his own, the Sailor and Marmaduke slowly but unmistakably proceeded in the opposite direction, through the creeds they adopted to the obligations themselves.

Analogous to the choice between suicide and suffering for the man or literary hero in distress would be the choice between disloyalty and loyalty within the group when things go wrong, the uprooting or the conserving of the family and the State; by the same token, those who destroy their own religious or artistic past might also be called self-murderers. And hence whatever agreement Wordsworth gives in 1793-1798 to Fleetwood's essentially Christian doctrine of victory through submission as opposed to self-assertion by murder, self-murder (and we might add offensive war and its violent measures, social and political eccentricity or rebellion, spiritual apostasy) furnishes a logical basis for his whole career.

A Vaudracour, with the best intentions, is

> inwardly prepared to turn aside
> From law and custom, and entrust himself
> To Nature for a happy end of all.[4]

But Wordsworth's one similar disregard for law and custom, in his union with Annette Vallon, was a failure; and his mistaken procedure, arising from a mistaken theory of human relationship, brought him face to face with the whole contractual fabric of human life. We have as yet insufficient evidence for a judgment upon his solution of conflicting loyalties, of "relative duties"—as Fleetwood's title reads; but there is little doubt that Wordsworth, and perhaps Annette in her way, gave the whole strength of mature life to dignify the "civil" and "contracted" relations of which Fleetwood writes. In short, having found self-assertion unproductive, the poet tried submission. He became "a sufferer," a dweller "in the very world, which is the world of all of us."

Once he understood the nature of his error, he challenged all partial and irresponsible ways of feeling and thinking—natural impulse, naked reason, abstract science, and speculative schemes. The new integrity accomplished during the years 1793-1798 for

[4] *Prelude*, ed. de Selincourt, p. 340.

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his life and art[5] is recorded later in his simple definition of the poet as a man speaking to men, not as a man speaking for himself. Still later he became a citizen with citizens, a worshiper with worshipers. He submitted to the British Constitution and the Anglican Church, burdensome as they were, precisely because he grew strong enough to deal with them.

Fleetwood's analysis of the human situations which provoke self-murder is operative enough to explain the motives for all selfish procedure:

> Everyone should be extremely careful how they engage themselves in matters of great difficulty or danger, lest the disappointment be too great for them; and that not only in matters certainly wicked and forbidden, but even in all others where the event, if not successful, is like to be of great but ill consequence to them; for few people understand themselves thoroughly, or know the strength or weakness of their minds in great trials; and therefore should not easily put themselves upon them. But since the *accidents of life*, that are neither to be foreseen nor prevented, trouble us as much as the miscarriages of our own designs, deliberately laid, the next useful caution may be to have our minds so prepared and our *affections* so *subdued* and kept *in so good order* that the common *calamities of life*, though they may surprise, yet may not quite confound us; that we may not be so lost and destitute of succor from our reason as to give ourselves up to the *guidance* of our present passion, and follow where that leads. For this, indeed, is the common lot of those who fall into the desperate resolutions we are speaking of: their *passions* are always high, *never controlled or checked*, evermore indulged and *yielded to;* so that when grievous *accidents* befall them, they know not whereabouts they are nor *whither to turn* themselves; they can bear no loss or disappointment, nor fall from the condition in which they formerly were, but abandon themselves entirely to *sorrow and despair*.[6]

This passage, particularly in the phrases which I have italicized, recalls that main crisis of *The Prelude* when Wordsworth, "misguiding and misguided," with mind "let loose and goaded" (cf. Fleetwood's "controlled or checked"), with heart "*turned* aside from Nature by external *accidents*," "*yielded* up moral questions in *despair*."[7] It recalls also the temper and doctrine of the Wan-

[5] Professors Campbell and Mueschke in their recent studies of *Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers* (*Modern Philology*, XXIII, 293-306, 465-82) explain "the strong retrospective character of his whole mature aesthetic point of view" by his realization "that, without the alembic of memory, experience cannot be distilled into beauty."

[6] Fleetwood, pp. 447-9.

[7] *Prelude*, ed. de Selincourt, pp. 408, 410.

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dering Pedler in what may have been the earliest conception of *The Excursion:* he was one who could afford to "suffer with those whom he saw suffer," Wordsworth tells us; he could help those "unable to *subdue impatience* . . . to draw the line of comfort that divides *calamity,* the chastisement of Heaven, from the injustice of our brother men"; but—like Fleetwood—he believed that there exists "only one adequate support for the *calamities of* mortal *life:*"

> an assured belief
> That the procession of our fate, howe'er
> Sad or disturbed, is *ordered* by a Being
> Of infinite benevolence and power;
> Whose everlasting purposes embrace
> All *accidents,* converting them to good.
> —The darts of anguish fix not where the seat
> Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified.[8]

Although Fleetwood thus lays the responsibility for action on the agent, and for patience on the sufferer, he allows "pity and a tender regard" to all those "whose unhappy constitution, make, and frame, wrong education, false and mistaken principles, with great weakness both of body and mind, long and continued pains, and dreadful and amazing calamities have driven to these extremities"[9]—a most suggestive list. Is it not true that the operation of Fleetwood's "pity" becomes concrete in Wordsworth's early poetry? The unhappy constitution of Margaret and Oswald, the wrong education of the Female Vagrant, the false and mistaken principles of Vaudracour and the recluse of the yew-tree, the great weakness of body seen in the wife of the Sailor, the great weakness of mind illustrated by Marmaduke, Vaudracour, and the Solitary as he was later conceived, the long continued pains of convict, of deserted wife, of desperate sailor; war, that dreadful and amazing calamity; and poverty, which, as Fleetwood says elsewhere (p. (452), "throws men oft into . . . furious outrage (cf. the Sailor of *Guilt and Sorrow*), . . . violent grief" (cf. the *Female Vagrant*)—all these Wordsworth has depicted, as if to bring them to the test of life. The relation of the sufferers to their disaster he has studied with not less care than appears in the analyses of Fleetwood.

[8] Cf. *Excursion,* I, 340-81, 932-56; II, 62-80; IV, 10-31.
[9] Fleetwood, p. 489.

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Moreover, on the background of Fleetwood's substantial prose these early poems are seen to embody themes not peculiar to Wordsworth nor to the period of the French Revolution; and hence they are pulled awry when interpreted chiefly as Wordsworth's means of remorseful escape from personal responsibility, as the evidence of his moral and political frustration and rebellion, or even as the reflection in his thought of philosophical systems not antedating Godwin and Rousseau. For instance, those events of the poet's personal life in France which Bishop Wordsworth covered with one kindly paragraph, and which Wordsworth himself—contrary to the habit of some modern poets and the desire of some critics—would hardly publish to the world during the lifetime of Annette and Caroline either as biography or poetry, are frequently assumed to find a thinly-veiled illustration in *Vaudracour and Julia*. This is doubtless in one sense true. It would be incautious to push the assumption too far, however, because the major passages of this story might have been written with Fleetwood's *Sermons* lying open at the poet's side. The threats of Vaudracour's stern father, which served as "the dreadful provocation" for his son's act of violence and for Julia's "vehement indignation," the refusal to give a child part of his birthright before the death of a parent, the resort to courts of justice when there is a disagreement between parent and child, unseemly speech between parents and children, the authority of mothers, the dejection and intemperate grief of the lovers—all these illustrate the points of the preacher's doctrine, in a way to leave no doubt of the poet's approval.[10]

And it is just this achievement of sound doctrine—rather than fancied resemblance to actual events in personal life—which gives *The Borderers* and *Guilt and Sorrow* their significance in his biography. In the Preface to the play Wordsworth's remarks on lawsuits are paraphrased from Fleetwood's on "Contests at law"; and the information that the daughter of the captain goes mad when she learns of her father's death along with the explanation of Oswald's crimes as coming from "a pride which borders upon madness" points straight to Fleetwood's discussion of guilt and sorrow and madness, and reason, passion, and madness. Professor Legouis has remarked that the main purpose of *The Borderers* is

[10] Fleetwood, pp. 39, 41-2, 58, 61, 73-4, 75, 154.

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the delineation of the philosophical murderer; the kinship between murder and self-murder elaborated by Fleetwood as follows sheds further light upon Wordsworth's prefatory analysis of Oswald's crime:

> In these sorts of violence there is a fixt design, and end most steadfastly pursued, and means most suitable and proper pitched upon, and renewed with a most obstinate resolution and firmness again and again upon a disappointment. There is hardly any action of their life carried on with more contrivance than that which is to put an end to it. And if the design were right, they would be counted rather cunning men than mad or senseless; so that 'tis plain these people make their judgment from the event only, which is doubtless very wrong; for though the end be never so naught, unreasonable, and wicked, yet a man is not therefore mad when he chooses it, but naught, unreasonable, and wicked. A man indeed is in some sense mad when he is under the dominion of any of his passions, and out of the government of reason; but because a man's reason is given him by God to govern himself withal, and to keep his passions in good order, therefore men do not excuse the mischievous effects of any of these passions by saying the man was mad. And when one man kills another, with equal deliberation, with as much preparation and contrivance as some men show in dispatching themselves, he is not commonly acquitted by making it man-slaughter, but found guilty of murther. [In the same connection Fleetwood writes] The people who truly want their sense and understanding do indeed often fall into mischief, and often do great violence to themselves; but generally speaking, they seek not mischief as their end, but fall into it accidentally, as blind men do into a pit. [Cf. Herbert's actual plight and Marmaduke's moral disaster.][11]

This very distinction between madness and cunning wickedness made by Fleetwood in his *Sermons* and enforced by Wordsworth in his prefatory essay appears again in the dialogue of the play. Lacy says of Oswald: "He is no madman." Wallace retorts: "A most subtle doctor [? Fleetwood] were that man who could draw the line that parts Pride and her daughter, Cruelty, from Madness,—that should be scourged, not pitied." Indeed Fleetwood is one of those priests against whom Oswald himself inveighs. As a moralist he is one of the tyrants "with the musty rules by which they uphold their craft from age to age." "Murder!" says Oswald, "what's in the word!—I have no cases by me ready made to fit all deeds."

But Fleetwood has by him ready made a case to fit self-murder; it is his interesting version of the story of Absalom and Achitophel;

[11] Fleetwood, pp. 473-5.

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from this he takes his text for the three *Sermons* to which Wordsworth refers us in his copy of Chetwind. If David be substituted for Herbert, Achitophel for Oswald, Marmaduke for Absalom, and the loyal impulses persistently arising out of Marmaduke's love of Idonea for Hushai, the parable is clear, although the story be complicated by the themes of romantic, parental, and filial devotion. We are thus encouraged to add another to the long list of analogues for *The Borderers*—the Old-Testament stories of the dispossessed ruler, the false counselor, and the estranged son.[12]

[12] Not on the borders of England and Scotland, but in the Holy Land itself lie the previous careers of both Herbert and Oswald. At the end of the play Oswald plans to take Marmaduke back with him "to Palestine"; England and Scotland are "a paltry field for enterprise." More explicit references to Biblical tradition are made by Herbert: he recalls the voice heard near Cherith by Elijah, and compares Idonea to the "raven in the wilderness"; with Idonea he sings "a psalm that speaks of God's parental mercies." On closer view it appears that Herbert has much more than psalm-singing in common with David of the Old Testament. Herbert has lost wife and son in the burning of Antioch; in the burning of Zitlag two of David's wives were taken captive. Each ruler is dispossessed, and each is restored. Each is separated from a loved child. Each opposes free-booting. Both are doomed to wander, and for both the staff and the scrip have more than their ordinary value to the pilgrim. As Herbert is led across the torrent, so David has been led across Kidron and the Jordan. As Herbert lay in the dungeon, so David was "hid now in some pit, or in some other place" (*2 Samuel*, xvii, 9). Herbert's fate is akin to that with which the Philistine threatened David: "Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field."

Possibly Oswald's misrepresentation of Herbert as a despicable father was in part suggested by David: for example, by the latter's practice against Bathsheba, with the attempt to falsify the paternity of their child, by his unconscious assistance in the forcing of Tamar by Ammon (cf. Clifford and Idonea) and the resultant breach with Absalom (cf. Marmaduke's defection from Herbert).

Traces of Saul are evident in Oswald. He envies the young David who spared his life. Oswald envies Marmaduke for the same reason. "Gratitude's a heavy burden to a proud soul" (*Borderers*, 30-31). Absalom, however, is the prototype of Marmaduke: in beauty, in courtesy, in popularity, in the assumption of the rôle of judge. Absalom stood by the gate of Jerusalem and won the hearts of the men of Israel; likewise Marmaduke, "self-stationed" upon the savage confines of the north. In the end Absalom is stabbed; in the end Oswald instead of Marmaduke is stabbed; but Absalom's pillar resembles that monument to be erected on the dreary waste as a record of Marmaduke's story.

Note a possible connection between the Witch of Endor and Words-

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Now in the discourses on *Self-Murther* Fleetwood proceeds from the text *2 Samuel,* xvii, 23:

> And when Achitophel saw that his counsel was not followed, he saddled his ass, and arose, and gat him home to his house, to his city, and put his household in order, and hanged himself, and died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

The disloyal Achitophel puts his own household in order and takes his life into his own hands. Fleetwood argues rather for submission; and almost as if Wordsworth's Sailor in *Guilt and Sorrow* were influenced by Fleetwood's arguments:

> Confirmed of purpose, fearlessly prepared
> For act *and suffering, to the city straight*
> He journeyed, and forthwith his crime declared:
> "And from *your doom,*" he added, "now I wait,
> Nor let it linger long, *the murderer's fate.*"

Fleetwood's arguments, thus effective in the plot of *Guilt and Sorrow,* contain several phrases borrowed by Wordsworth for his Sailor; they contain also this new title for what used to be the old poem of *Salisbury Plain,* which on November 7, 1794, seemed to its author "to have no character at all," but by November 20, 1795, had received "alterations and additions so material that it may be looked on almost as another work."[18] It is between these two dates, I believe, that Wordsworth read in Fleetwood:

> When condemned criminals prevent their legal punishment by dispatching themselves, they think they save themselves the shame of dying pub-

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worth's Vagrant, between the draught of water in *The Borderers* and in *1 Chronicles,* XI, 18, between Marmaduke's reluctance to kill Herbert in the dungeon and David's reluctance to kill Saul in the cave, and between the names Adonijah and Idonea, the beloved children of David and Herbert respectively.

Fairly important among modern works on this theme is Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*; and Scott's notes on this poem show the vogue of the allegory in Fleetwood's age. Wordsworth may have gone to Dryden from his study of Fleetwood. Although his debt be slight in the situations and in the conduct of a plot, there is a notable correspondence in the delineation of character: between Buckingham and Clifford in certain traits, between the Duke of Monmouth and Marmaduke (the latter a possible metathesis of the former) in their susceptibility to the perverse arguments of an evil counselor, and between Shaftesbury and Oswald, for whom alike Dryden's famous lines ring true.

[18] *Letters,* I, 67, 79, 90.

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licly by infamous hands. Can anything be liker madness than this, under such persuasion? But such persuasion is, itself, the maddest that a Christian can be filled with. These people are frequently very good people [the Sailor was "mild and good"], or if they have been sinners, they have long repented, and amended; it is the sense of their GUILT that lies so heavy on them ["a burthen now with fortitude sustained"]; they would give all the world to be forgiven ["forgive me, but forgive!"]; they believe in God, and in Jesus Christ, the Resurrection, Life Everlasting, and the World to come; they believe that Christ died to save sinners ["My trust, Saviour! is in thy name!"]. . . . Nothing therefore can be liker or nearer to distraction than so to believe, and so to repent, as both to SORROW and amend, and yet conclude themselves vessels of wrath and under God's displeasure; for nothing is so contrary to all sense, and reason, and the whole tenor of the Gospel, as to believe that God is not *reconciled* to all penitent believers, in Jesus Christ, and without this Christianity would fall to the ground. . . . And though he [God] is just, yet is his justice tempered with such mercy that even the most provoking sinner may desire, with David, rather to fall into the hands of God, than Man.[14]

And if it be urged that Fleetwood's influence in *The Borderers* and *Guilt and Sorrow* could have been exerted at any time previous to their publication in 1842, an answer is found in *The Female Vagrant,* that episode in *Guilt and Sorrow* first printed in 1798. It owes a heavy debt to the sermons on the Relative Duties of Parents and Children, in the light of which it appears to be in part a study of faulty education; witness the following:

First, a parent is to take good heed that he never educate his children above the provision he designs to make for them; . . . for whenever they are left to shift for themselves, they are no better than exposed; naked, as it were, and defenceless, unable to procure themselves a livelihood, and in much worse condition than their inferiors. . . . Parents who leave their children pride and laziness, and an incapacity both of body and mind to do themselves any service . . . are as much to be blamed as the poorer sort, who will not inure their children to labor and close application; . . . the men-children either fall into the meanness of servitude, the refuge of the idle and uninstructed part of mankind, or betake themselves in despair to the wars abroad, or to robberies at home [cf. the husband of the Vagrant, the husband of Margaret of *The Ruined Cottage,* and the Sailor of *Guilt and Sorrow*]; the women fall too often into the hands of wicked tempters, through want of ability to employ themselves in honest courses, and an utter incapacity of maintaining their condition [cf. the Vagrant and the vagrant thieves].[15]

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[14] Fleetwood, pp. 492-5.

[15] Fleetwood, pp. 127-30.

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But, on the other hand, "parents are to be warned against too great and too constant severities, because . . . this puts the children upon mean and disingenuous shifts. . . . They can never please . . . with the truth, and therefore try to do it with lies and tricks" [16]—well illustrated in *Anecdote for Fathers.*

"When God himself," continues Fleetwood, "would express his love and tenderness to mankind, he can do it no way more feelingly than by calling himself our father, and letting us know he treats us as parents do their children." [17] Herbert, we remember, cried out on the moor: "There is a psalm that speaks of God's parental mercies." Marmaduke, surprised at Oswald's false report of Herbert as unfatherly, echoed Fleetwood's very phrases: "Father!—to God himself we cannot give a holier name." And, finally, the redemption of the Sailor was complete when, witnessing the cruelty of father to son, he recognized in it the type of his own act of violence—"The blessing this a father gives his child!" and hence acknowledged that in its nature Fatherhood should be and is merciful. The human father and son were "reconciled," says Wordsworth; and "a correspondent calm" stole over the woes of the Sailor, thus reconciled with his Divine Father.

Reconciliation? The word comes from Fleetwood in a context most fruitful for *The Prelude:*

> The voice of nature is louder than that of reason and strict justice, and beats importunately at the heart, and there will be no lasting rest till all is over, and a thorough *reconciliation* bring back each party to their natural affections, and place them in the state they were at first, and always should be.[18]

Written large, this episode of parental cruelty and reconciliation accords with Wordsworth's interpretation of the tyranny of Robespierre, and of England; and he invokes for his sole comfort prophets who—again like Fleetwood—are "constrained by natural laws" to take with them into their prophecies "a troubled human heart" and "a creed of reconcilement."

"Reconciliation" is the word of Fleetwood, of Wordsworth, and of Professor de Selincourt. This latest of Wordsworth's editors believes that the poet renounced Godwinism some time during

[16] Fleetwood, p. 61.
[17] Fleetwood, pp. 496-7.
[18] Fleetwood, pp. 92-3, 101-2.

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the summer of 1795—with which early date my own evidence is in accord; and he suggests that it was only during almost daily intercourse with Coleridge that Wordsworth learned to resolve the discord between reason and the passions. May it not be that even in Racedown the temper of Christian imagination assisted Coleridge, Dorothy, and Nature's self to restore those sweet counsels between head and heart? With another position of Professor de Selincourt my evidence is in complete agreement: "Despite the new psychology, man is an infinitely complex being, and is capable of being stirred to the depths by other impulses than those of sex." In this matter, too, Fleetwood has the final word when he directs us to discharge all our relations, natural, civil, or contracted.

Wordsworth writes of Chetwind in the title-page of the *Anthologia Historica,* "thro sufferings conform'd." Was not Wordsworth, too, through sufferings conformed?

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BURNS'S LAST YEARS

By FRANKLYN B. SNYDER

In an article, entitled "Burns and his Biographers," published in the October, 1928, number of *Studies in Philology,* I undertook to do two things: first, to trace the growth of the tradition that Burns was a confirmed alcoholic, as that tradition established itself between the poet's death in 1796 and the appearance of Chambers' biography in 1850; and second, to show whose was the major responsibility for the large number of unsubstantiated anecdotes concerning Burns that came into existence during the same period. In my exposition of the first of these two matters I refrained from debating the accuracy of the alcoholic tradition. I expressed my own opinion that it was unfair to Burns, but adduced no evidence to support this opinion. I was interested only in showing how the tradition came into existence. In the present paper I shall take up the argument at this point, and shall submit evidence tending to confirm my hitherto unsupported opinion that Burns was not an habitual drunkard, and that his early death was not due primarily to alcohol.

Before doing so, however, let me anticipate two possible objections. First, I am not trying to represent Burns as an eighteenth-century prohibitionist. That he was fond of alcohol, and occasionally drank too much, is as clear to us as it was to him. To be sure, alcohol figures less prominently in his poetry than persons unfamiliar with his total output are inclined to believe; but even so, he was no foe to the bottle.

Second, it might be objected that the early nineteenth-century interpretation of Burns as a confirmed alcoholic has today been more or less forgotten, and that the argument of this paper is directed against an already discredited thesis. Unfortunately for Burns, this is not the case. The old tradition still lives. Turn, for example, to the obvious sources of biographical information concerning the poet—the sources to which an intelligent undergraduate would go, and which the general public considers of unquestioned authority. Take the *Dictionary of National Biography,* for instance. In Sir Leslie Stephen's article on Burns, one finds repeated with no quali-

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fication Currie's "accidental complaint" accusation, together with this statement: "When recovering he fell asleep in the open air on returning late from a carouse at the Globe Taven"[1]—and died as a result. Neither of these charges has ever been proved, and both seem to me to have been all but definitely disproved.

John Nicol, who wrote the article that appears in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, was even more in bondage to the tradition established by Heron and Currie, the first biographers. "In the last years of his life," we read, "[Burns] became sourer in temper and plunged more deeply into the dissipations of the lower ranks, among whom he found his only companionship, and sole, though shallow sympathy."[2]

The Globe edition of Burns's works, perhaps the most popular one-volume edition, since it contains Burns's prose as well as his verse, repeats once more the old "canard" of the carouse at the Globe Tavern, the drunken sleep beside the road, and the resulting fatal illness.[3]

The Centenary Edition, to which Henley affixed his famous essay, is still more derogatory. "I purpose to deal with the Dumfries period with all possible brevity," wrote Henley. "It is a story of decadence." And again, "There is evidence that some time before the end he was neither a sober companion nor a self-respecting husband. . . . Drink and disappointment were pretty certainly responsible between them for the mingled squalor and gloom and pathos of the end. . . . There is nothing like liquor to make a strong man vain of his strength and jealous of his prerogative. . . . There is nothing like disappointment to confirm such a man in a friendship for liquor."[4]

No, the tradition of alcoholism and debauchery still persists. With varying degrees of emphasis biographers and critics repeat the old stories, and confirm the reader in the impression that Burns did in effect drink himself into an early grave. This I am bold enough to deny. Thus the scope of my paper narrows itself to this one relatively simple issue.

In support of my contention I shall present evidence of three sorts: first, the statements of certain of Burns's friends and con-

[1] *Op. cit.*, VII, 435.
[2] *Op. cit.*, IV, 857.
[3] *Op. cit.*, London, 1900, p. xxxv.
[4] *Op. cit.*, IV, 334, 337, 338.

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temporaries; second, the evidence of his own accomplishment during the years of what Henley calls his "decadence"; and third, the opinions of two physicians of today who have examined the records of Burns's life and death, and have reached certain easily understood conclusions.

First, then, what did the people who had actually known Burns say in answer to the charge of excessive alcoholism? His brother Gilbert said little. When, in 1815, he began work on a new edition of Currie's *Life and Works of Robert Burns,* he had an opportunity, so it would seem to the casual reader, to tell the truth where Dr. Currie had exaggerated or misrepresented. His failure to point out serious errors in Currie's portrait might well be taken as evidence that no serious errors existed.

As a matter of fact, however, Gilbert Burns was in a hard position when Cadell and Davies, the London publishers of Currie's original biography, asked him to re-edit it. He was in great need of money, for since July, 1798, he had been unable to pay anything on the debt he owed his brother's estate, and the trustees of that estate were pressing him.[5] When Cadell and Davies offered him £250 for his editorial services, with the promise of as much more in case a second printing of the new edition should be required, the opportunity seemed at hand to wipe out this old debt, together with certain others of more recent date. And unless he could secure this money for his editorial services, there was no likelihood of his ever being able to meet his obligations.

At the same time, however, the publishers made it clear to Gilbert that he must say nothing which would cast discredit upon Dr. Currie. "Mr. Wordsworth has thought fit to send forth a printed letter," they wrote, "reflecting in terms we can not approve, upon our late excellent friend Dr. Currie's edition of your brother's writings, to which, as we must ever feel that it is not justified to any sufficient degree, we trust you will not find it necessary to pay much attention; on any minor points, respecting which your brotherly feelings may be somewhat at variance with Dr. Currie's

[5] See "Documents bearing on Gilbert's debt to the Poet," by D. McNaught, *Annual Burns Chronicle,* 1900, pp. 77 ff. Money was needed at this particular time to extricate Robert, the poet's eldest son, from financial difficulties into which he had fallen while serving as a clerk in the London Stamp Office.

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remarks, you will doubtless be able to express yourself to your own entire satisfaction, without too severely questioning the justice which that benevolent and elegant critic may have thought due to biographical truth. We shall have great pleasure in hearing from you at all times, and we beg you to believe us, dear Sir, very faithfully yours, Cadell & Davies."[6] Thus the London publishers to their new editor, who had just written them that he was "in a situation of extreme anxiety lest [he] should fall short of what [they had] a right to expect."[7]

Shortly thereafter William Roscoe, who seems to have been acting as a sort of literary advisor for Cadell and Davies, pointed out to Gilbert, by letter, that "even a charge of mis-statement and error cannot be brought against Dr. Currie without recoiling on those relations and friends of the poet who furnished the Dr. with his information, were consulted in almost every stage of its progress, and finally approved of the work."[8] Thus in effect Roscoe said, "If you call Currie a liar—*de te fabula;* for Currie openly acknowledged you as one of his chief informants."

Thus doubly warned, and urgently in need of money, Gilbert saw only one course open to him. He kept his fraternal affections scrupulously in check, and was well within the limits of accuracy when he wrote, in the letter of transmittal which accompanied the manuscript, "I hope you will agree with me that no friend of Dr. Currie's will have any just reason to take offence at what I now send you."[9] So Cadell and Davies paid the £250, and Gilbert paid his debt to his brother's estate, interest and all. But any genuine rehabilitation of his brother's reputation he dared not undertake.

Alexander Peterkin, however, an Edinburgh attorney and writer, was hampered by no such practical considerations. When he published the 1815 Edinburgh reprint of Currie's first edition, on which the British copyright had just expired, he made vigorous and categorical denial of the charges which recent biographers had brought against Burns:

> The short question, after all these highly-wrought representations of the habits and fate of Burns, is, whether they be true? The short and decisive answer, which we do not hesitate to give, is that not one of them is cor-

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[6] "The Earnock Manuscripts," by D. McNaught, *Annual Burns Chronicle*, 1898, pp. 9 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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rect. . . . The caricatures which we have been contemplating . . . have no closer resemblance to Burns than a monkey has to a man, or than the most worthless have to the worthiest of the species.[10]

Peterkin did not know Burns personally, however, and might have been misled by his respect for the poet's memory. But James Gray, a fellow-member with Burns in the Royal Dumfries Volunteers, who like the poet was one of the organizers of the corps, and Master in the Dumfries High School till five years after Burns's death, was equally outspoken in his statements. Writing in September of 1814, Gray said:

As I knew Burns during that period of his life emphatically denominated his evil days, *I am enabled to speak from my own observation*. . . . He was not an habitual drunkard. Of this assertion, many proofs might be adduced. A few shall suffice. To the period of his last illness he discharged all the duties of his station with a most scrupulous exactness. . . . Not many days passed during his stay in Dumfries in which he did not compose some piece of poetry or some song. . . . It came under my own view professionally, that he superintended the education of his children with a degree of care that I have never seen surpassed by any parent in any rank of life whatever. In the bosom of his family he spent many a delightful hour in directing the studies of his eldest son, a boy of uncommon talents. . . . I would ask any person of common candour if employments like these are consistent with habitual drunkenness? . . . Is all this consistent with the idea that he was a man "perpetually stimulated by alcohol"?[11]

In estimating the value of such testimony, one should remember that Gray knew Burns intimately during the nearly five years of the poet's residence at Dumfries; Currie, whose statements Gray was contradicting, saw Burns but once, and then for only a brief time.

Even closer to Burns than Gray, however, during the Dumfries years, was Alexander Findlater, Supervisor of the Dumfries Excise district, and Burns's immediate superior in the service. Here is the material part of Findlater's testimony:

My connection with Robert Burns commenced immediately after his admission into the Excise, and continued to the hour of his death. In all that time, the superintendence of his behaviour, as an officer of the reve-

[10] Peterkin's reprint of Currie's *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, Edinburgh, 1815, 4 vols., I, xlv.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, lxxxv ff. The phrase "perpetually stimulated by alcohol" is Currie's.

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nue, was a branch of my especial province, and it may be supposed that I would not be an inattentive observer of the *general* conduct of a man and a poet, so celebrated by his countrymen. In the former capacity, so far from its being "impossible to discharge the duties of his office with that regularity which is almost indispensable," as is palpably assumed by one of his biographers, and insinuated not very obscurely even by Dr. Currie, he was exemplary in his attention as an Excise officer. . . .

I have seen Burns in all his various phases, in his convivial moments, in his sober moods, and in the bosom of his family; indeed, I believe I saw more of him than any other individual had occasion to see, after he became an Excise officer, and I never beheld anything like the gross enormities with which he is now charged.[12]

Findlater's testimony concerning Burns's performance of his duties as an Exciseman is borne out by the records of his rapid and uninterrupted rise in the service. It was in the autumn of 1789, while still engaged in farming at Ellisland, that he went on duty in the "Dumfries first itinerancy," as it was called, at a salary of £50 per year. In July, 1790, he was transferred to the "Dumfries third division," a much better assignment, as he no longer had to ride two hundred miles each week, and his salary was increased to £70. On January 27, 1791, he was recommended for promotion to an Examiner and Supervisorship. On April 26, 1792, he was promoted to the "Dumfries first division," the best assignment in the district. In December of 1792 he was denounced to the Excise Board as unpatriotic, and early in 1793, Corbet, General Examiner for the Board, came down from Edinburgh to Dumfries to enquire into his whole record. On this occasion Findlater, the Supervisor, and Mitchell, the Collector (the official next above Findlater), testified that he was "exact, vigilant, and sober; that in fact he was one of the best officers in the district."[13] Furthermore, the Examiner found him guiltless of any disloyalty. In December of 1794 he was appointed acting Supervisor in place of Findlater, who was ill. This position he held for over fifteen months, till at least the end of March, 1795, discharging its many and arduous duties with satisfaction to himself and his superiors.

[12] *Ibid.*, xciii.

[13] John Sinton, *Burns, Excise Officer and Poet*, Kilmarnock, 1896, p. 28. All statements concerning Burns's relations to the Excise are based on this curious but valuable pamphlet, the work of a Supervisor of the Inland Revenue who had access to R. W. Macfadzean's copies of the original records of the Excise Board covering the period of Burns's service.

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Lest any one think that an appointment as Acting Supervisor was more or less of a sinecure, let me introduce in evidence certain leaves of Burns's official diary, which each Supervisor was required to keep. Here one can still read the record of the actual time spent on government business.[14] For instance, on December 24, 1794, he was on duty from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven at night; on January 17, 1795, from five in the morning till eight at night;[15] on January 18 (?), from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon; on February 19, from seven in the morning till six in the evening; on February 23, from five in the morning till seven at night.[16] No eight-hour day here; nor was the work the kind that could be performed by an unintelligent man. On the contrary, it demanded a considerable amount of skill not only in dealing with persons but also in keeping a somewhat elaborate set of books, which were regularly scrutinized for even the slightest irregularity, and which had to make clear every transaction.

The whole story of Burns's connection with the Excise may be read in an entry of three words which appears in the Board's alphabetical register of officers. Here appear various scraps of information concerning the various employees, most interesting of which are the "characters," or official ratings of the different officers: "indifferent"; "indifferent, drinks"; "a sober, weak man"; "can do, but drinks"; "could once do; drinks"; "a drucken (*sic*) creature"; "a sober, weak officer"; "a weak man, but sober." Burns is characterized thus: "Never tried; a poet. Turns out well."[17] Clearly enough, the testimony of the Excise records, that the poet "turns out well," when taken in conjunction with the statements of Peterkin, Gray, and Findlater, seems to go far towards clearing Burns of Currie's oft-repeated charge of habitual intoxication.

Only one further piece of testimony of this sort seems necessary. On February 25, 1834, shortly after the publication of Allan Cunningham's *Life and Works of Robert Burns,* Mrs. Basil Montagu,

[14] It is to be regretted that so few of these pages seem to have been discovered and reproduced in facsimile; I know of no reason, however, for thinking that the testimony they give would be invalidated by the discovery of the remaining leaves.

[15] This entry somewhat uncertain.

[16] See facsimiles in Sinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 37.

[17] Sinton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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whom Cunningham had quoted concerning Burns's habits, wrote thus to Mrs. Thomas Carlyle:

My dear Jane:

. . . Literature, like everything else, seems now only a trade, and the highest and holiest subjects are now—materials for some literary adventurer, who does not consider what is most true, but only what is most saleable. . . . I have always felt this, and now more bitterly than ever when I see that Allan Cunningham, who ought to have known better, has published (without leave from me) all the idle and disjointed chat which he could pick up about Robert Burns; . . . and this he has put my name to, who have ever represented Burns as incapable of rudeness or vulgarity—on the contrary as gentle, modest in his manner to women, well bred and gentlemanly in all the courtesies of life. . . . This and a thousand other things all in commendation have I, from time to time, endeavoured to infuse into the dense faculty of honest Allan; and above all, that during the Carnival of the Caledonian Hunt, "when universal Scotland all was drunk," I never saw Burns once intoxicated, though the worthy Member for Dumfries, and the good laird of Arbigland, and twenty more that might be named, were much more tipsy than Tam o' Shanter, for he could see witches and warlocks, but they could neither see nor stand, and were brought home in a state of inglorious insensibility. I have told him twenty times that Burns always left a dinner party, if there were women, for the drawing room long before any other man joined it; and this in his thick skull has produced the following remark from Mrs. Montagu: "He drank as other men drank!" . . . Poor Burns! Misfortune pursues thee even to the grave! . . .

Ever faithfully and kindly,

Your friend,

A. D. B. Montagu.[18]

Thus Mrs. Montagu concerning the matter under discussion. She was ignorant of some passages of Burns's life, no doubt; but her testimony on the one issue of alcoholism is not without weight.

So much, then, for the character witnesses, of whom many more might be summoned. More significant and more interesting evidence concerning our problem is offered by the record of Burns's literary accomplishment during the years at Dumfries. This I propose to examine, with a view to seeing whether or not it can be fitted into any pattern of "decadence," to quote Henley once more.

The matter will be clearer, perhaps, if we recall some of the circumstances of Burns's life at Dumfries. It was in November of 1791 that he left Ellisland and moved into a second-floor tenement

[18] *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, 1927, pp. 87 f.

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in the Wee Vennel, now Bank Street, Dumfries. For the accommodation of his family, which then consisted of the poet, his wife, and three children all under the age of six, there were three rooms, one no larger than a closet, and a small kitchen. Here he lived for eighteen months, in what Hawthorne called "his poor, mean, dwelling," [19] under conditions which could hardly have been conducive to literary work of any sort, even had he been able to give his whole energy to writing. But, of course, he was earning his living as an Exciseman, and poetry had to wait till the government work was cared for. And when he moved into the house in Mill Vennel, now Burns Street, the family was larger, and the generally crowded situation only slightly less unendurable.

There were other deterrents to literary work during these years. In November of 1791, when his daughter Elizabeth was born, Burns suffered from a severe nervous breakdown, complicated by rheumatic fever. The first months of 1794 were clouded by a similar attack. The year 1795 brought with it the long and harrowing illness of the daughter Elizabeth, which terminated only with her death late in the autumn. From December of 1795 till the end of the story Burns was a broken man; but till the close of 1795 there are no indications that either his enthusiasm or his ability was on the wane. On the contrary, he was actively interested in much besides literature and the Excise. For instance, in January of 1795, he helped organize the Dumfries Volunteers, being one of the signers of the petition for the necessary authorization. Furthermore, as the recently discovered records of the Corps prove, he attended drills and took an active part in all the business connected with the organization till at least the fifth of November. He was also a member of the governing committee of eight persons charged with administering all the affairs of the Corps.[20] As other examples of his interest in civic affairs, one recalls that he took charge of buying books for the newly established Dumfries library; that he took an active part in the Parliamentary election of 1795; and that he worked out and proposed to the Provost of Dumfries a practicable means of increasing the town's revenues (the plan was

[19] *Atlantic Monthly*, VI (Oct. 1860), 387.

[20] For hitherto unknown details concerning Burns and the Dumfries Volunteers consult an extremely important article by William Will, "Burns as a Volunteer," *Annual Burns Chronicle*, 1920, pp. 5 ff.

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actually put into effect four days before his death). At the same time he was laboring under considerable financial embarrassment. His income seems never to have risen above £90 or £100 per year, and his family was steadily growing larger. With characteristic generosity, however, he endorsed a friend's note, and paid it, though he ran into debt to his landlord, Captain Hamilton, in order to do so. But he managed before long to square the account with Hamilton, and throughout the Dumfries period as a whole he lived—as he had always done—within his income. Even at his death he owed only some ten pounds, to balance which there was something more than two hundred pounds owing to him.[21]

Despite these many handicaps, the record of the Dumfries years, as regards strictly literary activity, is astonishing and illuminating. Between January, 1791, and January, 1795, he composed nearly one hundred and fifty songs, among which are at least a dozen of his best known lyrics. He made a careful study of all available song collections, including not only such obvious works as Ramsay's, Herd's, Pinkerton's, and Ritson's, but going so far afield in his studies that modern scholars have been constantly baffled in their attempts to follow him.[22] He furnished James Johnson, editor of the *Scots Musical Museum,* and George Thomson, editor of the *Select Scottish Melodies,* with extensive, pertinent, and scholarly comments on Scottish song and music. He gave to his friend Robert Riddell of Glenriddell an interleaved set of the first four volumes of the *Musical Museum,* on the blank pages of which he had himself inscribed invaluable historical notes concerning many of the four hundred songs there published. For the same friend he prepared two quarto manuscript volumes containing annotated texts of his own verse and prose—the volumes which the Liverpool Athenaeum sold for £5000, but which Mr. John Gribbel purchased from the dealer and restored to the Scottish people. Finally, he furnished Creech, his Edinburgh publisher, with a considerable amount of poetry which had not been published in either the Kilmarnock or first Edinburgh editions, among the lot being "Tam o' Shanter." Such astonishing literary productivity, car-

[21] The facts recorded in the two preceding paragraphs, except those relating to the Dumfries Volunteers, are more or less common knowledge. Consult the Chambers-Wallace biography, Vol. IV, *passim,* for details.

[22] For pertinent evidence of this fact see Davidson Cook's "Burns's *Old Bacchanal* Found at Last," in *The Bookman,* London, January, 1925.

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ried on in conjunction with activities of the sort I have mentioned, and at a time when the poet was harassed by ill health, poverty, crowded living quarters, domestic misfortune, and the unremitting pressure of the Excise duties, is more than enough in itself, were there no other evidence of any sort, to contradict Henley's assertion that the Dumfries years were years of "decadence."

But he died on July 21, 1796, not yet 38 years old. If the traditional opinion that he drank himself to death is not to be accepted, one may well ask what the cause of his sudden and tragic collapse may have been? At this point the medical men must take the stand.

Before listening to their testimony, however, it will be well to recall the fact that scattered throughout Burns's voluminous correspondence one finds evidence that his health, from boyhood on, had given him serious concern. In letters to his intimate friends he records all the ups and downs of the curve, with the result that one can go through the letters and by a process of simple excision gather the material for a fairly complete clinical history.

During the past few years two physicians of distinction have independently examined this record and given their diagnoses: Sir James Crichton-Browne of Edinburgh, in his *Burns from a New Point of View*,[23] and Dr. Harry B. Anderson of Toronto, in an address delivered before the Toronto Burns Society, "Robert Burns, his Medical Friends, Attendants, and Biographer."[24]

Sir James's conclusions are thus stated:

> Burns died of endocarditis, a desease of the substance and lining membranes of the heart. . . . At Mount Oliphant, from his thirteenth to his fifteenth year, the trouble was well declared. . . . At Mossgiel in 1784 there was an exacerbation of the desease. . . . It is characteristic of the mild types of this insidious form of heart desease from which Burns suffered, that its victims, until it is far advanced, are able to go about and take an active share in affairs, as if there was nothing the matter with them. But they are visited at different intervals during its course of twenty or thirty years by feverish attacks, significant often of another milestone on the downward journey, in which, with a quickened pulse, they become weak and qualmish, and are highly strung, nervous, and easily agitated. It is attacks of this kind that are occasionally tabulated in Burns's correspondence.[25]

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[23] Hodder and Stoughton, London [1926].

[24] Published in *Annals of Medical History*, X (March, 1928), 47 ff.

[25] *Op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

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Sir James then follows in detail Burn's records of his various illnesses, and concludes with the statement, "It will not, I think, be denied that Burns died of rheumatic endocarditis."[26]

Dr. Anderson's verdict, reached after a similar and independent examination of the evidence, is that

> the case was an ordinary one of rheumatism with heart complications, shortness of breath, faintness, weakness, rapid irregular pulse (auricular fibrillation), and toward the end, fever, parched tongue and delirium, presumably due to a bacteriological endocarditis which developed as a terminal infection.[27]

The situation in which the case stands, then, seems to be something like this: To controvert the statements of Heron, Currie, and others, that Burns died of alcoholism, one has, first, the testimony of several persons who knew him intimately, and who flatly denied the truth of the old slander; one has, second, the evidence of an astonishing amount of literary work carried on with happy enthusiasm under adverse conditions, and at the very time when he was supposed to have been tottering towards a drunkard's grave; one has, finally, the opinion of physicians of today who find in the clinical record no signs of alcoholism, but every characteristic symptom of a rheumatic endocarditis which manifested itself early in life, reappeared with increasing virulence from time to time, became acute early in 1796, and occasioned his death in July of that year.

Of all the biographies of Burns the most astonishing seems to me to be James Hogg's: a strange mixture of egotism, plagiarism, imagination, and mendacity. But Hogg's comment on this matter of Burns and alcohol puts the thing so picturesquely that I venture a quotation by way of conclusion: "Burns has by the greater part of his biographers been accused of inveterate dissipation and drunkenness. . . . Nonsense! Burns was no more a drunkard than I am; nay, I could take a bet that, on an average, I drink double of what he did; and yet I am acknowledged, both in Scotland and

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

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England, as a most temperate and sober man; and so I am."[28] Almost without realizing what he was doing, the Shepherd here came reasonably near the truth—much nearer, at any rate, than Henley, whose characterization of Burns during the Dumfries period is little better than gratuitous slander.

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[28] *The Works of Robert Burns*, edited by The Ettrick Shepherd and William Motherwell, Glasgow, 1839, 5 vols, V, 187 ff.

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MR. GRAYDON'S "DEFENSE OF CRISEYDE"

By Joseph M. Beatty, Jr.

In his recent article, *Defense of Criseyde*,[1] Mr. Joseph S. Graydon has very ingeniously endeavored to demonstrate a theory that Troilus and not Criseyde was largely to blame for Criseyde's lack of steadfastness. His analysis of the time element in the story is plausible; his inferences in regard to Chaucer's intentions in the portrayal of the characters of Troilus and Criseyde, however, are scarcely warranted by the facts. The evidence Mr. Graydon produces is certainly open to serious question.

Obviously, the proponent of a novel theory must assume the burden of proof. His evidence must be cumulative and conclusive; he must not be led by his enthusiasm into reading into his material meanings that the author did not intend. It is dangerous to quote, as evidence, lines which have one significance when read in their context and another when read separately. It is also dangerous to interpret as evidence to prove one's point, passages the meaning of which is at least problematical. It is most dangerous to assume without very sound evidence that Chaucer's literary methods were so obscure that for five hundred years no one has perceived his real purpose.

Mr. Graydon in his article desires "to show that her [Criseyde's] desertion of Troilus is justified and that the comments on her conduct and appraisals of her character are generally unintelligent or unfair."[2] He adds that it was Troilus's "violation of the obligation to keep the secret that constituted a moving cause of the catastrophe."[3] Finally he asserts, "Going back again to the very beginning of the poem we find unmistakable anticipatory suggestions that the causes of the catastrophe are:

(1) The uncontrolled jealousy and suspicion of Troilus,
(2) that lead him to betray the secret of their love and accuse Criseyde of infidelity;
(3) the resultant slander, that wikked tonges circulate."[4]

[1] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 141-177.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 145.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 154.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

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In other words, Mr. Graydon intends to prove that Criseyde's desertion of Troilus was brought about by the fact that (1) Troilus's blind jealousy made him (2) divulge the secret to Cassandra (3), who repeated the news until Criseyde became aware that Troilus had betrayed the secret and thereupon (4) yielded to Diomede.

I shall not attempt in this paper to discuss the chronology of events in the story except incidentally. My concern is simply with Mr. Graydon's method and with the validity of his inferences as to the characters of Troilus and Criseyde.

First of all, let us examine Mr. Graydon's evidence in regard to Troilus's jealousy. No one can deny that the youth showed definite signs of being afflicted by it. The question is whether Chaucer so stressed this trait in Troilus's character as to make it one of the prime causes of the catastrophe.

Mr. Graydon's first piece of evidence that Troilus is unreasonably jealous is the story of Horaste, which Pandarus tells to Criseyde. To be sure, there is no definite proof that this story is an invention of Pandarus, but there is equally no evidence that it is not. Criseyde apparently has never heard of this person; Troilus (II, 1156-1161) does not indicate in any way that he had ever heard of him either. We should not, furthermore, forget that Pandarus when asked by Criseyde,

> Can he wel speke of love?

gives her a very picturesque and perhaps not too veracious answer.[5] At least the evidence is questionable and unsafe. It does not warrant Mr. Graydon's comment that Troilus "does not dare to tell her that he believed the story about Horaste on pure hearsay; nor has he the manly honesty to confess his fault and beg forgiveness."[6]

As further evidence of Troilus's excessive jealousy, Mr. Graydon quotes Book III, St. 213, which he translates: "If there were any way in which you could convince me that your love for me is equal to mine for you, I should feel very much relieved."[7] He then adds, "Criseyde, who with her own problems and her own fears

[5] *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde*, by Geoffrey Chaucer, edited . . . by Robert Kilburn Root, Princeton, 1926. Book II, 505 ff.

[6] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 162.

[7] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 163.

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for the future seldom shows any indications of feminine hysteria, at this point comes perilously near to it—

> **And for the love of God that us hath wrought**
> **Lat in youre brayn non other fantasie**
> **So crepe that it cause me to dye.**[8] (III, 1503-5.)

If, however, one turns to the text and reads not only *all* of stanzas 213 and 215, but also stanzas 208-217 inclusive, one discovers that the quotations given by Mr. Graydon are totally misleading.

In the morning after the first night together, Troilus addresses himself first to the day, secondly to the sun, and thirdly to his lady. He tells her again of his love and she protests hers. The *fantasie* may easily be simply the suggestion that she does not love him as he does her—and Chaucer throughout stresses the greater intensity of Troilus's love; the translation Mr. Graydon gives is biased and inaccurate; there is no "suspicion" here; there is simply that natural hope of the lover that he is equally loved and the anticipated joy of hearing the loved one assert that he is. Yet Mr. Graydon says of this, . . . "what extenuation can be pleaded for persistence in his suspicion, after the raptures of the first night?"[9]

Mr. Graydon continues, "Pandarus, as a friend who well knows his weakness of character, apologizing for the unpleasant frankness of his warning, cautions him against the danger of losing Criseyde through his own foolishness:

> **but-tak it nat a-grief—**
> **For love of god be war of the myschief:**
> **That there as thow now brought art in thy blisse,**
> **That thow thi self ne cause it nat to misse.**[10] (III, 1621.)

Although Mr. Graydon does not say specifically that the weakness of Troilus's character is his "uncontrolled jealousy," he implies that it is by inserting the quotation given above between two other passages that in his opinion tend to show Troilus's suspicious and jealous nature.

A glance at the context of Pandarus's caution to Troilus shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the warning has nothing whatsoever to do with jealousy. Troilus, after the night with Criseyde,

[8] *Ibid.* [9] *Op. cit.*, 162. [10] *Op. cit.*, 163.

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has come home and sent for Pandarus to thank him for restoring his life and giving him joy. Pandarus tells him how glad he is to have been of assistance, and merely warns Troilus now that he is successful, not to lose his happiness through his own fault. In the next two stanzas he explains this:

> Be not to rakel, though thou sitte warm.[11]

The next stanza makes the warning specific:

> Thow art at ese, and holde the wel therinne;
> For also seur as reed is every fir,
> As gret a craft is kepe wel as wynne.
> Bridle alwey wel thi speche and thi desir;
> For worldly joie halt nat but by a wir.
> That preveth wel, it brest alday so ofte;
> Forthi, nede is to werken with it softe.[12]

There is scarcely any question that the *rakel* is explained by the line:

> Brydle alwey wel thy speche and thy desyr.

Certainly here is simply a warning against hastiness in speech or act, and in stanza 235, Troilus assures his friend,

> I hope, and god toforn,
> My deere frend, that I shal so me bere,
> That in my gylt ther shal no thing be lorn,
> Ny nyl nat rakle as for to greven here.

The next bit of evidence of Troilus's "overdeveloped tendency to jealousy" that Mr. Graydon quotes is Book IV, stanza 230. In stanza 229, Troilus says after much protestation that since Criseyde will come, he will endure till the tenth day, since it must needs be thus, but adds,

> But, for the love of god, if it be may,
> So lat us stelen privelich away;
> For evere in oon, as for to lyve in reste,
> Myn herte seyth that it wol be the beste.[13]

Criseyde infers from this that Troilus doubts her. She may be right in her inference. On the other hand, under the circumstances, it is perfectly natural that even a normally jealous lover

[11] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. III, l. 1630.
[12] *Op. cit.*, ll. 1632-1638.
[13] *Op. cit.*, Book IV, ll. 1600-1603.

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might feel justified in expressing his intuitive feelings. It is his "herte seyth that it wol be the beste." Perhaps one should note at this point that long before Troilus has given up hope of seeing Criseyde again, Pandarus says,

> God woot, refreyden may this hote fare
> Er Calkas sende Troilus Criseyde.[14]

and again,

> From haselwode, there joly Robyn pleyde,
> Shal come al that that thow abidest heere;
> Ye, farewel al the snow of ferne yere! [15]

Because Troilus loved Criseyde he refused to lose hope that she would return even though his intuition told him as it did Pandarus that circumstances would probably prevent her coming.

So far, then, the evidence adduced by Mr. Graydon has not, I believe, been sufficient to prove that Chaucer intended to make jealousy the mainspring of the tragic action of the story.

Now we come to the dream about the boar. It seems incredible that Mr. Graydon should have entirely omitted mention of a bit of evidence to be obtained from a comparison of Chaucer and Boccaccio that would have been an excellent prop to his edifice. For in the *Filostrato,* it is Troilus (Troilo) himself who interprets the dream to Pandarus, and Cassandra hears the rumor about Troilus and Criseyde by chance. She reviles Troilus for his amour. Certainly one might well ask why Chaucer should have changed this detail of the story and made Troilus ask Cassandra to interpret his dream. Certainly, also, if Mr. Graydon's other evidence were strong, this would help his case.

We may admit at once that it is Troilus's anxiety and suspicion that cause the dream and that it is the dream that sends him to the Sybil. But, surely, if according to Mr. Graydon's chronology, Troilus has been tormented for two months by disappointment, anxiety, and grief, it is small wonder that he has bad dreams. Furthermore, Chaucer found the dream in his source. He used it,

[14] *Troilus and Criseyde,* Bk. V, ll. 507-8.

[15] *Op. cit.,* ll. 1174-1176. It should be noted that while Troilus and Pandarus are watching on the walls of Troy for Criseyde, Troilus does not show any signs of doubt or suspicion. He assumes that either her father's will or her wisdom has caused the delay. He even fears that he has miscounted the days. Then, when Criseyde fails to come, he becomes suspicious. (ll. 1114-1218.)

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I believe, simply to make Troilus's suspicions more definite and to convey to his readers in an artistic manner the information that it really was Criseyde's love for Diomede that was at the bottom of the trouble. This is not, of course, Chaucer's only use of the dream at a literary device: Chaunticleer's dreams give him both warning and information. Yet as Chaucer admits, it

> . . . is wonder, by the rode,
> To my wit, what causeth swevenes
> Either on morwes, or on evenes;
> And why th' effect folweth of somme,
> And of somme hit shal never come.[16]

There is no doubt, then, that it is the dream that sends Troilus to the Sybil, and it is Troilus's anxiety and suspicion that make him have the dream. But was it Chaucer's purpose to make Troilus's inquiry of Cassandra unmistakably a breach of the convention of secrecy? If so, it was not clear to Chaucer's immediate followers in the rendering of the Criseyde story. Nor was it clear to those who wanted Chaucer to write *The Legend of Good Women* to compensate for his treatment of Criseyde,

> Why noldest thou han writen of Alseste,
> And leten Criseide been a-slepe and reste?[17]

Surely, if it had been obvious that Troilus was to blame, no one would have blamed Criseyde. And, surely, to a medieval audience, it would have been obvious if Chaucer had intended it to be so. It is at least strange that not one of the later tellers of the story should have been able rightly to interpret Chaucer who is usually painstaking in his efforts to attain clarity.

Neither at the time of Troilus's consultation with Cassandra, nor in Criseyde's letter to Troilus is there the slightest hint that can be taken unmistakably to indicate that Chaucer meant to make of this incident a crucial point in the story. There is not a shred of evidence that the news was in this particular instance spread abroad by "the neurotic, mud-slinging old maid" rather than by, for instance, Pandarus. My quarrel is not with the possibility of

[16] *Hous of Fame*, I, ll. 2-6.

[17] *Legend of Good Women*, Bk. Prologue, Text A, ll. 530-531. It should be remembered that Cassandra was called upon in her capacity as a seer. One might conjecture that in the Catholic Middle Ages such a request might have seemed almost as sacred as the confessional.

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Cassandra's blabbing the secret; I merely object to Mr. Graydon's insisting that she did when he does not produce evidence that she did. He does not produce it because it is not there to produce.

Mr. Graydon in commenting upon Book V, ll. 1432-5 of the *Troilus* says:

> His own distrust and suspicion have brought him to a point where he may go whistle: "God shield us, and all who love truth from such misfortune." The trivial expression suggests not so much a noble victim of inexorable Fate, as a stubborn lover so lacking in trust and intelligence that the poet is compelled (at least temporarily) to wash his hands of him.[18]

It should be noted that the lines just commented upon have a very significant context. Chaucer has just given in full Troilus's letter to Criseyde, a long letter, one hundred and four lines, to be exact. He does not quote Criseyde's reply; he merely comments upon it in two stanzas, the second of which Mr. Graydon quotes only in part. The whole stanza reads:

> But in hir lettre made she swich festes,
> That wonder was, and swereth she loveth him best,
> Of which he fond but botmelees bihestes.
> But Troilus, thou mayest now, est or west,
> Pepe in an ivy leef, if that thee lest;
> Thus gooth the world; god shilde us fro mischaunce,
> And every wight that meneth trouthe avaunce![19]

Surely, in view of the context, it is not "unintelligent or unfair" to say that Chaucer intended this to mean as in *The Knight's Tale* (ll. 1837-1838) that Troilus as the unsuccessful lover will have to make the best of it, for his efforts are in vain. There is no justification for Mr. Graydon's suggesting that Chaucer "is compelled (at least temporarily) to wash his hands of him."

It is scarcely worthwhile to question the force of Mr. Graydon's comments upon Troilus as Paul Pry when he asserts that years before "Pandarus assumed him capable of reading the private mail of his brother Paris in regard to an affair not of his business."[20] The only reason for my referring to this totally unwarranted assumption is to add one more to the already long list of

[18] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 165.
[19] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. V, ll. 1429-1435.
[20] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 170.

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unproved assertions that Mr. Graydon has made in order to bolster up his theory. It would seem to be a rather unnecessary attempt at mud-slinging.

If one examines the context, one discovers, of course, that Pandarus, having read the letter himself, asks Troilus whether he, too, had ever seen it. Apparently, if Pandarus had seen the letter, he might well have asked if the brother of Paris had seen it; the question was casual, and so was the answer. But Mr. Graydon remarks, implying that Troilus was both a liar and a sneak, "Pandarus was wrong in his 'gesse' that Troilus had read the letter from Oenone to Paris as Pandarus himself had—at least Troilus denied he had read it; but it is quite significant that he felt no indignation, nor even surprise, that his best friend should suppose he had read it." [21] Surely the defender of Troilus will have to apply to the above remarks the adjectives "unintelligent or unfair" that this most recent critic applies to the work of the majority of his predecessors who have painstakingly endeavored to analyze the baffling character of Criseyde.[22]

Finally, Mr. Graydon attempts to prove that it is Troilus's betrayal of the secret that drives Criseyde to Diomede's arms, and in partial proof of this part of his theory he calls attention to the warning Chaucer gives to women to beware of men.

One might, perhaps, quibble with Mr. Graydon's point that it was the physical surrender of Criseyde that constituted her unfaithfulness, and in quibbling one might quote her remark on the first night with Troilus,

> Ne hadde I er now, my swete herte dere
> Ben yolde, iwys, I were now not here.[23]

But aside from this, let us turn to the evidence Mr. Graydon adduces to prove that Criseyde yielded to Diomede chiefly because of Troilus's jealousy which led him to divulge the secret to Cassandra. Mr. Graydon says:

> So that Chaucer has furnished a clear enough chronology to justify the assertion that the Cassandra incident, occurring prior to the expiration of two months from that *ilke nynthe night* when she planned to leave Troy the following night, was the cause of her giving up the plan to return; in

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

[23] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. III, ll. 1210-1211.

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fact, made it impossible that she should return at least until the situation had changed.[24]

Chaucer was too good a literary artist to make so important an event depend upon a chronology that it has taken five hundred years to understand. I do not believe that Mr. Graydon is justified in asserting that Book V, ll. 1611-1615 can be interpreted to mean:

She is well aware that he has not only condemned her as unfaithful in his own heart, but has published (to Cassandra) the story of their love and her infidelity; and that after slandering her without cause, he has had her watched and spied upon. Criseyde, in writing, has these facts in mind, and also has before her not only the several letters which demand her return, without any expression of appreciation of her difficulties, but also the long letter (5 St. 189-203 inclusive), which he wrote convinced of her infidelity, immediately after the dream.[25]

How can Mr. Graydon be sure that the lines,

> I have ek understonde,
> How ye ne doon but holden me in honde,

mean, "I have learned that you have told about our love, a thing I could not imagine you would do."[26] And how, when there is absolutely no evidence that Troilus was conscious of any wrong-doing, can Mr. Graydon say,

No matter how the conventions of courtly love may have justified Troilus in reading this letter, in common fairness its language and his own conscience must have made him understand Criseyde to say: "Now I may never hope to come back. By telling Cassandra of your vile dreams, by believing her malicious lies, by tracking and spying on me, you have put an end to everything. God help you; farewell."[27]

It is perhaps unnecessary to quote further to show what would seem to be an unwarranted freedom of interpretation in order to prove a very interesting theory. But the statement in regard to the warning Chaucer gives to men is so misleading that it would seem best to comment briefly upon it. Mr. Graydon says:

A reader who, at this point, still entertained the idea that the story dealt with the betrayal of a noble and blameless lover by a light-minded

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[24] *PMLA.*, XLIV, 170.

[25] *Op. cit.*, pp. 171-172.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

[27] *Ibid.* One might in refutation turn to Book V, stanzas 151-156, and particularly to Criseyde's tribute to Troilus in stanza 154.

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wanton—especially a reader who, having in mind Boccaccio's (*Filostrato*, 8. 29-33) warning to *giovanetti* against the unfaithfulness of women, expected some sententious or didactic utterance of a similar kind—would be puzzled to find that Chaucer (5. 1772-1785), after expressing the hope that his fair readers will not be angry with him for writing the story, even if (*al be that*) Criseyde was untrue as *other* books say she was, ends with no diatribe against the woman, but with a warning to her against *Men*.[28]

But the *whole* of stanza 254 which Mr. Graydon attempts to summarize above, reads,

> Bysechyng every lady bright of hewe,
> And every gentil womman, what she be,
> That, al be that Criseyde was untrewe,
> That for that gilt ye be nat wroth with me.
> Ye may hire gilt in other bokes se;
> And gladlier I wol write, if you leste,
> Penelopes trouthe and good Alceste.[29]

As I take it, the last two lines of this stanza prove definitely that Chaucer felt that Criseyde was guilty. He would rather write of loyal women like Penelope and Alceste. Surely, if one has no theory to prove, it would be more accurate to translate the first lines of the stanza above not as Mr. Graydon translates them, but rather,

> Beseeching every fair lady and every noble woman that although Criseyde was untrue, you be not angry at me for her offence. You may read of her offence in other books; and I should more gladly write, if you wish, of Penelope's keeping of her pledged word and of good Alceste.

Mr. Graydon quotes stanza 255 in full, with the comment that "the author's summation of the purport of his work is a warning to women, lest they suffer the undeserved unhappiness that came to Criseyde through her love for Troilus." [30]

There are at least two other explanations of this passage. The first is that since Criseyde was subjected to the wiles of both Pandarus and Diomede, Chaucer was justified in warning women to beware of men. The whole record of Troilus's winning of his lady is a record of the wiles of Pandarus. One should not forget that

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 176.
[29] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. V, ll. 1772-1778.
[30] *PMLA.*, XLIV, p. 177.

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Diomede's first thoughts of love as he and Criseyde journey toward the camp are,

> But I shal fynde a meene,
> That she nat wite as yit shal what I mene.[31]

He continues in his wily craft, and it is not insignificant that Chaucer writes five stanzas in description of Diomede's purposes and characteristics in juxtaposition with a comment upon Criseyde's change of heart.[32] The first of these stanzas would make very possible the argument that Chaucer added the stanza about men because Diomede had cajoled Criseyde into love.

But if one does not care to agree to this theory, one may say, simply, that Chaucer here makes a graceful gesture to the ladies. Criseyde will be considered a slander on her sex; she will be handed down to posterity as a type of faithless woman. But men, too, are sometimes to blame. Therefore, let women beware of them and not blame Chaucer for slandering their sex. He really has no grudge against women in general. He would prefer to write about such faithful women as Penelope and Alceste.

So much, then, for the *Defense of Criseyde;* it is doubtful whether on the basis of such evidence as Mr. Graydon has produced, one can totally disregard the estimate that five centuries have pronounced upon the character of the defendant.

One should not ignore the poet's comment to Alceste in *The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women:*

> Forwhy a trewe man withouten drede,
> Hath nat to parten with a theves dede;
> Ne a trewe lover oghte me nat blame,
> Thogh that I speke a fals lover some shame.
> They oghte rather with me for to holde,
> For that I of Creseyde wroot or tolde.
> Or of the Rose; what-so my auctour mente,
> Algate, god wot, hit was myn entente
> To forthren trouthe in love and hit cheryce,
> And to be war from falsnesse and fro vyce
> By swich ensample; this was my meninge.[33]

By this, I take it, Chaucer meant that although he had written of the false Criseyde he had written for the purpose of inculcating

[31] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. V, ll. 104-105.
[32] *Op. cit.*, V, ll. 771-798.
[33] *The Legend of Good Women*, Prologue A, ll. 454-464.

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faithfulness in love by showing an example of falseness. That the falseness is Criseyde's and not Troilus's is proved by the earlier words of Alceste:

> And he shal sweren you, and that as blyve,
> He shal no more agilten in this wyse;
> But he shal maken, as ye wil devyse,
> Of wemen trewe in lovinge al hir lyve,
> Wher-so ye wil, of maiden or of wyve,
> And forthren you, as muche as he mis-seyde
> Or in the Rose or elles in Criseyde.[34]

Goucher College.

[34] *Op. cit.*, ll. 425-431.

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ON THE DATING OF SPENSER'S "MUTABILITY" CANTOS

By Evelyn May Albright

By way of appendix to his article, "Alanus de Insulis, Giles Fletcher, and the 'Mutabilitie' Cantos",[1] Professor H. M. Belden states that he finds "insuperable difficulties" in the way of supposing that the Mutability cantos were originally composed in 1579-80, as I argued in "Spenser's Reasons for Rejecting the Mutability Cantos".[2]

As I am making some further studies of these cantos, I should like to say that I neither stated nor implied that Spenser left the manuscript in England when he went to Ireland, nor that he kept this long poem by him for over eighteen years without ever changing a line. Everyone who studies Spenser knows his habit of re-working old materials. I tried to show that, although he was discouraged from proceeding with his original plan for these cantos, he cherished them sufficiently to take them to Ireland, to preserve them through his life, and to borrow from them bits for the revision and fresh composition of other pieces. This does not preclude the possibility of a small tentative effort at adornment by a bit of local color such as he obviously did make before the final abandonment of the cantos for inclusion as a whole or for a substantial section of *The Faerie Queene*.

My theory was, that the philosophical poem on Mutability, substantially as it appears in the extant cantos, was harshly criticised by Harvey in a letter, apparently of 1579-80, from its position and from the other matters in the Letter-Book. The dating of the criticism receives some support from a published letter from Harvey to Spenser, 23 October, 1579, accompanied by four little poems on Mutability, one being of Harvey's own versification.[3] Less direct support is given by a published letter from Spenser to Harvey, "Quarto Nonas Aprilis, 1580," asking Harvey to return his *Faerie Queene* "with all expedition" and with his usual long

[1] *Studies in Philology*, XXVI (1929), 131 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXV (1928), 93 ff.

[3] *Spenser's Poetical Works* (Oxford Standard Authors), 642-43. Subsequent references are to this edition, of 1924.

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letters of criticism.[4] Harvey's reply to this letter says that he has sent the *Faerie Queene* "home at last," and expresses the often quoted condemnation of it,[5]—an opinion somewhat at variance with his later comments on what Spenser himself published as *The Faerie Queene.*

As it is clear from their published correspondence that Harvey and Spenser were in the habit of exchanging parcels of poetry with requests for criticism, it is not much to the point to object, as does Mr. Belden, that what Harvey criticised in the letter I quoted was nothing but a *letter* from Spenser, especially as Harvey immediately corrects *letter* and says "Or rather, bill of complaynte" (a title highly suggestive of the type of poetic complaint on which I think Spenser was engaged about this time). Spenser would naturally send a letter along with the poem to Harvey; and Harvey, who was accustomed to gratifying his vanity by publishing his correspondence with his gifted friend which showed that Spenser courted his criticism, would naturally seize upon the literary form of a reply to a letter as a desirable vehicle for his criticism, whether he intended it merely for Spenser's perusal, or also for publication like his other critical letters which were sent to Spenser. Many of the items in the Letter-Book seem to have been originally prepared with a view to future publication; in particular, the elaborate hoax arranged by Harvey to the effect that Spenser was putting Harvey's *Verlayes* into print without his knowledge.

The objection that the attitude that Harvey rebukes in his letter on Mutability is the attitude of Spenser in *The Teares of the Muses* is evasive; for most of the points objected to by Harvey in Spenser's treatment have no possible contact with that poem.

Mr. Belden's discussion does not disturb my conclusions, because he leaves entirely unsolved the riddle of how Harvey, in 1579-80 (if he accepts the present dating of the letter in question) could possibly invent and at the same time criticise as Spenser's in a letter the very points which Spenser, according to his theory, did not work up until *after 1595.* If Mr. Belden can prove that this letter of Harvey's was written after 1595, his objections will be well taken. I am reasonably sure that he cannot. Mr. Belden's

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 612.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 628.

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discussion also leaves unaccounted for a strange duplication of themes and treatment in "Mutability" as compared with other works completed before 1594. This overlapping I explained as due to a progressive pillaging and a final complete abandonment of intention to publish "Mutability" as a whole. Certain ideas seem to be re-worked from "Mutability" in the Garden of Adonis passage (*F. Q.*, III, vi), necessarily before December 1, 1589, and probably before October, when Spenser went to England to undertake publication of the first part of *The Faerie Queene*. The next little bit, rewritten to end the *Complaints* volume, would have to be borrowed before December 29, 1590. The final abandonment of the Mutability cantos for any large use in *The Faerie Queene* would coincide with the date of composition (about 1592-93?) of the greater part of Book V, which overlaps "Mutability" in such fundamental conceptions as constancy and justice in Ireland, as well as in ten of the prefatory stanzas which repeat "Mutability" more specifically. As these borrowings from "Mutability" run from about 1589 to about 1593, my theory is not damaged by admitting the insertion of a bit of local color before the breaking up and final abandonment of the cantos.

It is quite obviously an inserted passage that Professor Belden quotes as his one significant "insuperable objection" to my dating—the well-known allusion, in canto VI, stanzas 36 and 40, to a lay which had been re-sung in *Colin Clout*. The lines are these:

> Of my old father *Mole*, whom Shepheards quill
> Renowmed hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill.
> . . . . . .
> *Molanna;* daughter of old father *Mole*,
> And sister vnto *Mulla*, faire and bright:
> Vnto whose bed false *Bregog* whylome stole,
> That Shepheard *Colin* dearely did condole,
> And made her lucklesse loues well knowne to be.

Annotations from the time of Upton (1758), through Todd (1805), Craik (1845), Church (1879) down to our day have agreed in interpreting these lines as referring to that lay of the loves of the Bregog and the Mulla (Spenser's name for the Awbeg), rivers of the Kilcolman district; and *Mole* as the poet's name for the mountain system near Kilcolman (the Ballyhowra and the Galtee hills). It has been generally understood for at least a hun-

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dred and fifty years that the locality celebrated in "Mutability" is that of Buttevant, in Kilcolman. Perhaps it is not so generally known that the "heavy hapless curse" of Diana told of in the last of the inserted stanzas giving local color, st. 55 of canto VI, refers to an old Irish peasant legend explaining Kilnamullagh as the "church of the curse" (as if it were from *mullacht*).[6]

The age-long recognition of these local allusions and the fact that the passage on Irish rivers is obviously an insertion and neither among the matters criticised by Harvey nor among those transferred by Spenser to other works are my only logical excuses[7] for not commenting on this passage, which I passed over perhaps too hastily with the remark that stanzas 36-55 are "particularly local" in their Irish reference.

Now these stanzas are marked as an insertion not only by their obviously digressive character, but also by the poet's own frank apology for the incongruity of their matter and their tone with the context. This apology does not, of course, pre-suppose any strong feeling for logical unity on Spenser's part; but it does show the poet's consciousness of committing a literary sin in mixing his poetic "veins" by intruding into a heroic poem this pastoral bit modeled on his lay of loves of the Bregog and the Mulla which Raleigh had admired.[8] That Spenser fully recognized the differences in matter and style between epics and pastorals is clearly expressed in Piers's advice to Cuddie (Spenser) in the *Calender* for October, lines 37-54. This is presumably the advice given by Sidney to Spenser, probably in the autumn of 1579, when the *Calender* was about to be published in Sidney's honor, and when the poet was at the home of Sidney's uncle, Leicester, that he should now turn away from the lowly pastoral theme and pursue a loftier aim in an epic on the sovereign and her favorite, Leicester, in whose service Spenser then cherished the hope of going abroad. The sonnet of "W. L." accompanying the 1590 *Faerie Queene*

[6] Mary Cusack, *History of the County of Cork*, 1875, p. 489.

[7] My real reason was perhaps not logical: I am bored by long descriptions of underground love affairs, or even respectable public weddings, of English or Irish rivers.

[8] It reads like a feebler variant of that lay, with choice of a heroine scarcely inferior, in Molanna (i. e., the Brackbawn), little sister of the Mulla, and the love of the Fanchin (Funcheon) for that little brook.

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clearly indicates that the critical advice to adopt a new theme and a new style with it came from Sir Philip Sidney.

The patching in of specific local details in "Mutability" begins at stanza 36, where the hearing of the cause of "Mutability" is, for no obvious reason, set at Arlo Hill, and a reference is made by the poet to "my old father Mole". Immediately after the joining, i. e., in st. 37, comes the poet's apology for incongruity:

> And, were it not ill fitting for this file,
> To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and Knights,
> I would abate the sternenesse of my stile,
> Mongst these sterne stounds to mingle soft delights;
> And tell how *Arlo* through *Dianaes* spights
> (Beeing of old the best and fairest Hill
> That was in all this holy-Island hights)
> Was made the most unpleasant, and most ill.
> Meane while, O *Clio*, lend *Calliope* thy quill.

His excuse is, that it is a bit of history, this legend, and the epic muse may on occasion, borrow the quill of the historic. The excuse covers the legend, but not the singing of hills and woods in pastoral vein, exactly. After his digression to work in Irish rivers and an Irish legend, he resumes connection with his story in the third stanza of the next canto, where he recurs to the gods "assembled all on Arlo Hill." No other local color appears in the "Mutability" cantos except for two single lines naming Arlo (Canto VII, stanzas 4 and 7) and one obviously digressive stanza descriptive of gentle Mole, stanza 11. The Irish setting of "Mutability" is thus seen to be casual and decorative, not woven into the fabric of the poem. It could very easily have been inserted after Spenser went to Ireland—or even after he went to Kilcolman.

The five-stanza list of Irish rivers, including "Mulla mine", added by the poet to the official list of wedding guests at the marriage of the Medway and the Thames (*F. Q.*, IV, xi, 40-45) may also be an insertion, as it begins,

> Ne thence the Irishe Rivers absent were.

But the entire passage on the Medway and the Thames is episodic, and the bit on Irish rivers may very well have gone in with that on the English river guests. Here again we have a warming-over of old materials, a redaction in English verse preserving essential features of the *Epithalamion Thamesis* laboriously projected in

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1579, according to Spenser's letter to Harvey explaining his method of research on rivers. Spenser resorted to a desperate device to make his insertion of the nuptials of the Medway and the Thames look as if it came naturally into *The Faerie Queene*. The opportunity of connection appeared in an ocean cave mentioned in Book III—for rivers do empty into the ocean. Poor Marinell must be sacrificed to the cause. Book III, canto iv, st. 43 shows him lying in Liagore's watery chamber "built of hollow billowes," while relatives and friends rush off for the most noted sea-surgeon, Tryphon, to heal his bleeding wound. After six years' wait, and after one hundred pages of intervening narrative (as paged in the Oxford Standard Authors *Spenser*), contemporary readers must have been relieved to find Tryphon (in Book IV, canto xi, st. 6) responding to this emergency call and healing Marinell,—by now somewhat soaked in blood and sea-water. But he is saved at last—and so is the essence of Spenser's old poem on the Medway and the Thames. The passage illustrates Spenser's technique in tucking in his river poems that he admired.

Taken alone, the amount of local color in "Mutability" would, in my opinion, be insufficient to establish the necessity of residence in Kilcolman before the writing of the passages containing it. The region of Buttevant was famed in Irish legend, song, and history. And most of the details on Irish rivers here could be acquired from book-knowledge[9] and maps before even going to Ireland, the rest from talk and travel in Ireland before going to live at Kilcolman. His official "beat" required him to go from Cork to Dublin before that time; and nearly all the Irish rivers he describes empty along the coast between those two points. It is not so much the information as it is the choice of spots for celebration and the

[9] Spenser's great indebtedness to books for knowledge of English and Irish rivers has been pointed out by Carrie Harper, in *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, 1910, pp. 10-22; and again, by Charles Osgood, in *Spenser's English Rivers*, 1920. Osgood shows that about one-half the matter on English rivers in Book IV is from Camden's *Britannia*, 1586. Miss Harper shows that, while the 1577 edition of Holinshed was what Spenser referred to as a source of his laboriously acquired information for the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, in his letter to Harvey of April 2, 1580, he used for the English version of the nuptials in Book IV both the 1577 and the 1587 editions of Holinshed, as well as Camden's *Britannia* (1586). The rivers passage in Book IV, canto xi must, then, date as late as 1587.

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possessives used in naming mountain and river that argue for a residence at Kilcolman when any of the three passages on Irish rivers was composed. There is a kinship in spirit, as well as in locality, of these passages; and I am quite willing to believe they were written near the same date, the first of them being probably the lay which was the original nucleus of *Colin Clout,* the song of Bregog and Mulla first sung by Spenser to Raleigh on the bank of the Mulla with the result that Raleigh presented Spenser at Elizabeth's court to win her favorable hearing of *The Faerie Queene.* This meeting on the banks of the Mulla should not, I think, be construed as the actual beginning of acquaintance with Raleigh. They should have met before; for Raleigh was a captain under Lord Grey at Smerwick in 1580, and Spenser declares that he himself was near at hand on that occasion.[10] The meeeting celebrated in *Colin Clout* may have been their first association as neighbors and fellow-poets or their first cementing of bonds of personal friendship.

The year 1586, suggested by Professor Belden as the earliest possible date (probably because of an error in Carpenter, *Reference Guide to Spenser,* p. 17, where Mar. 4, 1586 should be 1589) is really impossibly early for Spenser's residence at Kilcolman. There is no evidence at all that Andrew Reade, who had the first claim on Kilcolman, was acting for Spenser in the matter. He seems to have become discouraged and failed to establish his claim by carrying out his part of the contract. Spenser became owner at some time between March 4 and May 5, 1589.[11]

The original lay of the loves of Bregog and Mulla, then, should belong to the period between May 5 and October, 1589, when Spenser was in England with Raleigh on the double mission of securing permission to dedicate *The Faerie Queene* to Queen Elizabeth[12] and of answering Lord Roche's suit of October 12,

[10] *View of Ireland,* Globe ed., p. 656.

[11] See *S. P. Ireland,* 1588-92, Vol. CXLIV, art. 20; and also, Charles Gibson, *History of the Co. of Cork,* I, 272-73.

[12] Permission may possibly have been secured after one copy had been hastily struck off. One copy of the first part, in the possession of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, lacks the dedication, which in other copies is (not very handsomely) placed on the verso of the title-page. This copy has several marks tending to distinguish it as earlier than others; but it does contain the added sonnets as a cancel.

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1589, in the courts of London concerning encroachments of Spenser on the manor of Buttevant.[13] Raleigh would be a very valuable witness for Spenser in this defense, as he had acted under the orders of Captain Zouche (a friend of Grey) in capturing Lord Roche and Lady Roche by a trick and taking them prisoners to Cork because of their earlier troubles with the English colonists.[14] He knew the whole history of Lord Roche's land quarrels.

Spenser made several attempts to repay Raleigh for the "singular favours and sundrie good turnes" shown him on this visit to London. First, he inserted the prefatory stanzas before Book III of *The Faerie Queene,* which will be seen to refer to matter connected with the literary friendship celebrated further in *Colin Clout.* Here he praises Raleigh's *Cynthia,* and begs him to amend anything amiss in his *Faerie Queene* that may offend his *Cynthia.* The next mark of gratitude is *A Letter of the Authors expounding his whole intention,"* addressed to Raleigh and dated 23 January, 1589,—presumably 1590. And finally, he rewrote the lay of Bregog and Mulla which had taken Raleigh's fancy, with additions suggested by their joint visit at the English court. The dedication, dated "27. of December, 1591," doubtless accompanied a presentation copy (which *may* have been in manuscript) sent to Raleigh at that time.[15] Cuddie says in *Colin Clout,* "Record to us that lovely lay againe," and Colin undertakes to repeat the "tenor" of the lay. Not only were matters added in the version sent to Raleigh, but things crept in later, among them an allusion to the death of Ferdinando Stanley (Amyntas), which occurred April 16, 1594. The history of *Colin Clout* will show the unwisdom of attempting to date the whole of "Mutability" by a passage of six or seven lines in the midst of a digression. One might as well argue that Spenser must have made a mistake when he said it was his lay of Bregog and Mulla that enlisted Raleigh's interest before the visit to England in the

[13] *S. P. Ireland,* 1588-92, Vol. CXXXVII, art. 20.

[14] Charles Gibson, *History of Cork,* I, 259.

[15] Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* cites an entry of *Colin Clout* on the Registers to Wolfe, August, 1587; but I think this must be an error of assumption that the poem went along with the "mourning muse of Bryskett," on the death of Sidney, because it was later printed with that poem (by Creede for Ponsonby) in 1595.

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autumn of 1589, because here is that lay in *Colin Clout,* and that poem contains matter of 1594 and was printed in 1595.

Now the allusion in "Mutability" has no bearing on anything whatever in *Colin Clout* except the original germ, the song of the loves of Bregog and Mulla, which must have been sung to Raleigh before October, 1589.

Professor Belden's insistence that making the river loves "well known" and Mole "renowned" implies that this must have been through publication in print in 1595, and that "Mutability" was written after that date, is certainly not justified. Only to a modern scholar would it occur that publication in print is necessary to giving renown by praise poems. Pushed to the extreme, Mr. Belden's argument would require that the work be published and read widely before a poet dare lay claim to having conferred this renown. Innumerable praise poems of the sixteenth century state, before publication, that the poet *has* immortalized the object of his praise, and many poems not intended for publication in print make similar assertion. A literary convention, passed down from classical antiquity through Petrarchan imitation to the sixteenth century, permitted a poet confidently to predict, while composing a poem, the renown which was to accrue to the person, or object, or occasion celebrated. Spenser often thus anticipates the effects of publication, as in the sonnet to Norris, accompanying *The Faerie Queene,* "Love him that hath eternized your name,"—i. e., in this very sonnet; or in the lines to Howard, Hunsdon, Essex, or Northumberland; or, as in the mildly egotistical anticipation of Colin's pastoral fame, voiced in the June *Calender,* where Calliope is awe-struck by the poet's success in the pastoral vein.

At the time that Spenser wrote the allusion to the lay of Bregog and Mulla, manuscript circulation alone would have been thought quite sufficient to give renown. Like others of his day, Spenser very freely circulated his manuscripts among his friends.[16] So did Sidney. So did Raleigh, as we see from references by Harvey and others to his *Cynthia* unpublished. The references by W. Vallans,

[16] See Ponsonby's call for fugitive pieces, printed with the *Complaints* volume in 1591; see the list of "lost works" in Carpenter—not all lost, to be sure; and see Webbe's remarks on *The Englishe Poet* as "in ye close custody of some of Spenser's friends," *Discourse of Eng. Poetry,* pp. 23 and 36.

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in the preface to *A Tale of Two Swans,* printed 1590,[17] show that poems on the amours and weddings of rivers were circulated in manuscript and read and enjoyed by contemporaries, unbelievable as it may seem. The preface invites

> those worthie Poets, who have written 'Epithalamion Thamesis' to publish the same. I have seen it in Latin verse, in my judgment well done, but the author, I know not for what reason, doth suppresse it. That which is written in English, though long since it is promised, yet it is not perfourmed.

There is, then, no good reason to conclude that the allusion to *Colin Clout,* or the lay which underlies it,—for that is all that is mentioned in "Mutability,"— is of any later date than the autumn of 1589. It occurs, as we have seen, in a digression introduced by an apology for incongruity.

I once thought that everything in "Mutability" that has any reference to Ireland was a later insertion, as that could easily be managed. I am still open to conviction on the point; but I now think there are small signs of an original intention to discuss fluctuating policies in Ireland, in connection with a general theme of abstract justice and constancy. These rather indefinite signs are at VI, 8; VI, 12; and VII, 50. But, as the poem is only a fragment, the relation of the abstract ideas to the Irish setting can only be a matter of speculation at present. It should be remembered that the *View of Ireland* strongly emphasizes changeableness of policy of the English as a main cause of failure in Ireland; and Book V also works in changeableness,—especially where it borrows from "Mutability." It was for this reason that I suggested that "the notion of such a book [on justice in Ireland] might very well have occurred to Spenser before he went to Ireland"; and that, after Grey's death under a cloud of disgrace, Spenser's loyalty and gratitude prompted him to work out in Book V more definitely these dreams of ideal justice and constancy in government, and exemplify them by an idealized figure of a just governor in Ireland,—a figure almost wholly modeled on Lord Grey, but combining with his exploits some of the best of Leicester's in the Netherlands.

That the original conception of a book on ideal policies of

[17] Reprinted in *Leland's Itinerary,* ed. Hearne, 1769, V, viii, ix.

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government in Ireland should have occurred to Spenser as early as 1579 is not so unreasonable as it may have appeared to some readers of my former article. In 1579 Spenser was at Leicester's house, as we see from his published letters. And he had become sufficiently acquainted with Sir Philip Sidney to receive a request that he write Sidney during his contemplated trip abroad (October, 1579) in Leicester's service; he had exchanged literary views with Sidney; he was dedicating the *Calender* to him; and Sidney was planning the subject and style of *The Faerie Queene* for his next project.

Is there any likelihood that Sidney would suggest to Spenser at this time a book on Irish policies? I think there is. His father, Sir Henry Sidney, though in his long career in Ireland he had much better success than most deputies, had some strong enemies who attacked him bitterly, so that their charges had a public hearing in October, 1577. Edward Waterhouse, who had been in Ireland with Sidney, kept him informed of the attitude toward him at court and of the plans for his defense against the charges. In a letter from Windsor Castle, on the last day of September, 1577, Waterhouse wrote to Sir Henry Sidney:

> Uppon the Veiw that I have had of Mr. *Whittens* Notes, I dare warrant you an honorable End of that Busines; and I find my Lord Threasuror very well effectid to your Cawsws. And I have optainid that at my Lord Chauncellors Coming, your Lordships Matters shall have present Hearing: And I think that to the Cess Rates, Mr. *Philip*, Mr. *Whitten*, and I, shalbe called to assist him. Before the arrival of Mr. *Whitten*, Mr. *Philip* had gathered a Collection of all the Articlis, which have bene enviously objectid to your Government, wherunto he hath fraimid an Answer in Way of Discours, the most excellently (if I have eny Judgement) that ever I red in my Lief; the Substance wherof is now approvid in your Letters, and Notes, by Mr. *Whitten*. But let no Man compare with Mr. *Philips* Pen.[18]

A fragment of Sir Philip's defense of his father's policies is extant, showing the directions of attack and defense.[19] The fourth point notes inequalities of rich and poor in Ireland and inquires

[18] *Letters and Memorials of State* . . . collected by Sir Henry Sidney . . . ed. by A. Collins (often called *Sidney Papers*), I, 228.

[19] B. M. Cotton MSS., Titus XII, folios 564 and 565; printed from this manuscript in Sidney's hand, with Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, etc., ed. by Albert Feuillerat, 1923, pp. 46-50.

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briefly into the possibilities of just equalization. The fifth more nearly suggests Spenser's attitude. It tells of the dreadful "backbiting" of malicious slanderers of Sir Henry Sidney as Deputy in Ireland. "Though the wownde be healed the skarre remaines." Spenser (in Book V, canto xii, st. 39 and st. 41) concludes his defense of Lord Grey as deputy by showing the ugliness of Envie (hurling at Artegall the serpent, which "bit him behind, that long the marke was to be read") and the bellowing of the hundred-tongued Blatant Beast (Detraction, or Scandal), who had allied themselves to destroy Artegall. Sidney's special duty was, to defend his father against charges of unfairness in administration of the Cess, a trouble concerning which Sir Henry warned his successor, Lord Grey, frankly telling of his own failure to satisfy in the matter. Philip, in his defense, poses the abstract problem of what justice is. The extant fragment begins and ends on that note, the last significant idea being, "There is no so great injustice, as that which putts on the coullour of demawnding justice." Constancy and justice are kindred themes in "Mutability"; but the preface to *The Faerie Queene,* Book V, which takes over most of its ideas from "Mutability," is turned into a consideration of justice in the abstract; and it announces Artegall as the instrument of divine justice in Ireland. Sidney's attitude toward force and severity in rule of Ireland is that of Spenser in Book V and in the *View.* He defends his father against charges of undue severity, replying that "the generall nature of all contreys not fully conquered is plainly against it." The Irish man is himself to blame for the severity, says Sidney. "Little is lenity to prevaile in myndes so possest, with a naturall inconstancy ever to goe to a new fortune, with a revengefull hate to all englishe as to their only conquerors, and that which is most of all with so ignorant obstinacy in papistry." Here, surely, is a fair start toward most of the prejudices that Spenser shows in his treatment of Irish deputies, policies, and native Irish men. They appear in Book V and in the *View* most clearly, in defense of Lord Grey's policies that were attacked.

If Sidney ever talked with Spenser about Irish policies, when he was suggesting the themes for *The Faerie Queene,* there is no chance that he would have forgotten these topics; for it was a matter near to the heart of father and son for many years. On

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Sept. 15, 1577, Sir Henry Sidney wrote in his own defense to the Irish Chancellor, saying he heard rumors that he was to be revoked because of the complaints of his rule, and the next day Edward Waterhouse, who had been with him in Ireland, wrote to advise him how to proceed that, if revoked, it might be "with honor."[20] But on hearing of the case, he was exonerated.

Both Sir Henry and Sir Philip Sidney advised the next deputy, Lord Grey, in the most friendly, sympathetic fashion.[21] And when Grey in turn was much more severely attacked and sent back to England in disgrace, Sir Henry Sidney, in spite of his recent unpleasant experiences and what he felt to be advanced age,[22] expressed a willingness (on April 27, 1582) to consider returning to "that accursed country" as Lieutenant—a title he preferred to Deputy, if Sir Philip would agree to go along and to succeed him "in the government of Ireland (if it may so like her Majesty to allow him)." If Sidney is Clarion in *Muiopotmos*,[23] this plan of Sidney's father perhaps explains lines 23-33, on the hope that filled the "aged breast" of Muscaroll, that Clarion

> should in time prove such a one
> As should be worthie of his father's throne.

In view of this long and intense interest of the Sidneys, father and son, in Irish policies, and in view of the ideas expressed by Sir Philip in defense of his father in the autumn of 1577, is it not possible that, among the suggestions for subject-matter and purpose of *The Faerie Queene* in 1579,[24] Sir Philip might have hinted at the desirability of a book on Irish affairs with a consideration of what policies were needed in Ireland to straighten out that changeableness of men of which Sir Philip himself complained

[20] *Letters and Memorials of State . . . Henry Sidney . . .*, ed. by A. Collins, I, 227.

[21] *Ibid.*, I, 279.

[22] He was only 52 years old in 1582, but in writing to Grey, he stated that his hand shook so that he could hardly write. He was ill when he left Ireland. On this plan for his son, see M. W. Wallace, *Life of . . . Sidney*, p. 280.

[23] See Viola B. Hulbert, "A New Interpretation of Spenser's 'Muiopotmos,'" *Studies in Philology*, XXV (April, 1928), 128-49.

[24] See Piers's advice to the poet completing his pastoral, in the October eclogue of the *Calender*, lines 34-51; and compare the poem of "W. L." accompanying the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*.

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in his defense of his father's Irish policies,—a book, in short, which would tend to justify his father's administration there? It has seemed to me that such a book might be hazily conceived by Spenser as early as 1579, with original reference to Henry Sidney's policies. But by 1582, Lord Grey, whose policies are known to have been worked out in conference with Henry Sidney's, but who provoked much more violent antagonism than Sidney ever had, stood in much more urgent need of defense by his adherents. The attacks on Grey's injustice and severity had practically erased the memory of similar charges made against his predecessor. When Grey died, in 1592, Spenser would have reason to bring to completion, as a memorial and a justification of his administration, the new book on Irish policies, whose chief figure Artegall, though a composite figure, as is indicated by the use of Leicester's particular achievements in the Netherlands when he worked with Grey (canto x), is recognizably Grey in many details of policy in Ireland. Where it is not Grey or Leicester, it may be said to be an idealized deputy in Irish service.

After twelve years in Ireland, Spenser was in a position, in 1592, to develop a really vital Irish background and to consider actual problems. Whereas the local descriptive touches in "Mutability" stand out as excrescences, the location in Ireland is essential to Book V, and the characters, the incidents, the ideas all fit naturally into this local background. By then, too, Spenser could take sides knowingly, and write a clear, definite, powerful allegory, replacing with concrete issues the vague and hazy thoughts on justice and constancy that appear in "Mutability."

Comparing the two poems, I find it unthinkable that Spenser could write "Mutability" after finishing Book V of *The Faerie Queene*. Partly because of Spenser's constant hashing over of old stuff, his revising, patching, and delayed publication, the chronology of his works has never been established; nor have any standardized tests of maturity of style developed. But I have tried to show elsewhere[25] that the whole philosophy in "Mutability," as well as the technique and the attempted discussion of

[25] In an article on Spenser's philosophy and his religion, in *P. M. L. A.*, September, 1929, as well as in a few passages in the article attacked by Belden.

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local problems, represents a comparatively immature stage in the poet's development.

Professor Belden believes that Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie* shows, in the first canto, use of the "Mutability" cantos for ideas, together with Alanus de Insulis, *De planctu Naturae*. He has made out an excellent case for indebtedness to Alanus; but may not Fletcher have been led to Alanus by the reference in Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* just as Spenser was? It is true that Fletcher's debt to Spenser is large; but there is certainly little contact between *Christs Victorie* and "Mutability" such as would require one to believe that Fletcher used "Mutability" as a source. The pleading of Justice and Mercy in the cause of man heard in the Court of Heaven is very common in medieval debate, allegory, and morality (the original idea being perhaps from Psalm lxxxv, 10, 11). Justice and Mercy are compared by Spenser, but that is in Book V. Professor Belden thinks "Mutability" responsible for the veil of Fletcher's Mercy, replacing the 'diadem of starry firmament' that Alan's Nature wears about her head. The veil is thus described:

> About her head a cyprus heav'n she wore,
> Spread like a veile, upheld with silver wire,
> In which the starres so burn't in golden ore,
> As seem'd the azure web was all on fire. (Canto i, st. 59.)

But surely this veil has none of the functions of the veil of Spenser's Nature, in "Mutability." Spenser's Nature is mysterious. She wears a veil "To hide the terror of her uncouth hew/ From mortall eyes" or else because her beauty is too great to look upon directly. Not so with Fletcher's Mercy.

> For, where the Sunne centers himselfe by right,
> Her face, and locks did flame, that at the sight,
> The heavenly veile, that else should nimbly moove,
> Forgot his flight.

Have we not here, in this cyprus heav'n,[26] veile, azure web studded

[27] Professor Belden inquires whether *heaven* was used then to denote a woman's head-dress. But perhaps Fletcher means heaven here, as he well might, and the head-dress, or diadem, or veil idea is to be conveyed rather through the epithet *cyprus*. Cypress seems to have been used by Florio in 1611 as an equivalent of a transparent drapery, a kerchief or scarf

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with stars, a mere verbal variant for the diadem of starry firmament worn about the head of Alanus's Nature? If the poet added a milky way and a rainbow, could he not think of the word *veil* for himself? This veil ornaments and reveals, does not conceal, like the veil of Spenser's Nature.

It seems to me unnecessary to suppose that Fletcher saw more than the six authorized books of *The Faerie Queene* before writing *Christs Victorie;* but if Professor Belden is convinced that he sees a real debt to "Mutability," it would not be necessary to suppose that Fletcher had to get at the manuscript from Harvey, who may or may not have kept a copy of the poem he criticised so harshly. Spenser certainly took a copy to Ireland with him, and he may have brought it back. Hurried as he was, he had some papers with him when he came back to London in December, 1598. If "Mutability" were discovered by relatives or friends, after Spenser's death, the natural thing for them to do would be to send it to Ponsonby, his regular publisher from 1591 to the end of his life. Ponsonby's preface to the *Complaints* volume contained an advertisement calling for fugitive manuscripts of Spenser's works; and the call was probably authorized, as all the later works of Spenser were entrusted to him.

As these cantos were construed as belonging to *The Faerie Queene* (and so published in 1609), there would be no need for separate entry of them on the Stationers' Registers. We find none. What we do find is damaging to Collier's theory (quoted by Belden, p. 140) that Lownes brought out the Spenser folio "in part because he had procured in manuscript, perhaps through some of the friends or relations of Spenser, two additional cantos." Ponsonby's chances of acquisition were infinitely better, and there was time enough between Spenser's death in January, 1599, and Ponsonby's retirement from bookselling in 1603. (His last book entry on the Registers is July 5, 1602). Ponsonby's stock was desirable, for the most part. On September 3, 1604, nine choice copies passed at one time to "Master Simon Waterson," including the *Arcadia,* the *ffayrie quene both partes by Spencer,*" the *Politiques* of Sidney's friend Lipsius, a discourse on life and death by Sidney's friend du Plessis (Mornay), Englished by Sidney's sister. A month

for head or neck. "*Velaregli,* shadowes, vailes, Lawnes, Scarfes, Sipres, or Bonegraces that women use to weare." (This is quoted in the *N. E. D.*).

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later (Nov. 5, 1604), "Master Waterson and Master Matthue Lownes" entered the *Arcadia* jointly and Matthew Lownes entered for himself "by Consent of Master Waterson and the Court holden this day" the other eight copies which had gone in a block from Ponsonby to Waterson the month before. The title of *The Faerie Queene* has the same wording in both entries. The folio of 1609 was printed by Humphrey Lownes for Matthew, his brother and partner. Humphrey married the widow of Peter Short (who died in 1603), and thus succeeded to Peter Short's business. Short had been one of Ponsonby's printers, and the widow would probably know the value of Ponsonby's copies; so that the acquisition of any promising copies, such as this block of eight good books and a half share in the *Arcadia,* would be a sensible business venture. The acquisition of Spenser's masterpiece in 1604 would naturally suggest the possibility of getting other copyrights, especially as most of them had been the property of Ponsonby or his business associates; so that the *idea* for the folio may well have been in mind as early as November, 1604. And from what we know of Ponsonby as the publisher for Spenser, Sidney's family, and their friends, it looks as if he would have had a better opportunity to procure manuscripts found or released after Spenser's death by friends or family.

I offer this suggestion because it disturbs me to think that Professor Belden, despairing of trailing the manuscript of "Mutability" for Fletcher's use, evidently prefers the theory that "Mutability" was in print (1609) before Fletcher saw it; that it inspired him to seek out Alanus de Insulis; and that he then wrote *Christs Victorie*—three cantos, 2120 lines—and got it "published, complete, at Cambridge, 1610." "The possible lapse of time between the two publications," he adds in a footnote (p. 140), "ranges from practically none at all to two years." If "practically none at all," it would be rather hard on Fletcher.

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THE TOPOGRAPHY OF DEKKER'S *THE SHOEMAKER'S HOLIDAY*

By W. K. CHANDLER

It has been pointed out in a general fashion that Dekker's London in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is realistic late sixteenth-century London.[1] To his vivid portrayal of the London he knew, Dekker owes, perhaps, a fair amount of the popularity of his comedy; yet the extent to which he is realistic has not been shown in detail. Dekker refers specifically to thirty-five landmarks that are within a radius of three miles of the city, and a census of these landmarks shows that his picture is of his own Elizabethan city—not of the early fifteenth-century London of Simon Eyre and Sir Roger Otley. Six of these thirty-five landmarks as used in the play are definitely contemporary with Dekker but not with Eyre:

1 Doctors' Commons (II, i, 21-2)[2] ". . . and Mistris Frigbottom by Doctors Commons . . ." The Doctors' Commons was located on Knightrider Street, two blocks south of St. Paul's. It was bought during the first years of Elizabeth's reign by Henry Harvey, Doctor of Civil and Canon Laws, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and utilized as Doctors' Commons. Prior to that time, it was the town house of the Blounts, Lords Mountjoy.[3]

2 Finsbury Fields (I, i, 61) ". . . all gallantly prepar'd in Finsbury." (III, i, 57-8) "And if I stay, I pray God I may be turnd to a Turke, and set in Finsbury for boyes to shoot at." Finsbury Fields, the popular name given to the fields north of Cripplegate, was not utilized for archery practice or as muster grounds until after 1698, when

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[1] As in A. F. Lange's Introduction to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, in *Representative English Comedies*, Vol. III, ed. C. M. Gayley, New York and London, 1914. Mary Leland Hunt, in *Thomas Dekker* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 58, says: "In *The Shoemaker's Holiday* we have the most attractive picture of citizen life presented on the Elizabethan stage, and perhaps it is the truest."

[2] References to acts, scenes, and line numbers are to Lange's edition, in Gayley, *op. cit.*

[3] *A Survey of London by John Stow, Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols., Oxford, 1908, Vol. II, p. 17; Sir Walter Besant, *Mediaeval London*, 2 vols., London, 1906, Vol. I, p. 245; Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 3 vols., London, 1891, Vol. I, p. 507; E. H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, Manchester, 1925, p. 153.

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many gardens in the area were thrown into a spacious field for the use of the London archers.[4] "Marks, both rovers and butts, were set up there, to the number of 160, and were distinguished by names such as 'Dunstan's Darling,' 'Lee's Leopard,' 'Mildmay's Rose,' and the like . . . *The Ayme for Finsburie Archers*, published in 1594, gives a list of the marks with their names and distances . . . Some of the marks were in the shape of a Turk."[5]

3 Old Change (III, iii, 51) "There is a wench keepes shop in the Old Change." (IV, i, 23-4, contains a list of goods handled in the shop, such as ". . . calico, or lawne, Fine cambricke shirts . . .") Old Change or Old Exchange was so called after 1566, when the new Royal Exchange was opened. It was situated on Old Change Lane, near St. Paul's, between Westcheap and Watling Streets. Drapers' shops were located in the building during Dekker's time.[6]

4 Pissing Conduit (IV, v, 113-4) ". . . or that the Pissing Conduit leakes nothing but pure Mother Bunch?" The Little Conduit or Pissing Conduit was located by the "Stockes Market" at the intersection of Lombard, Cornhill, Thread Needle, and Poultry Streets. It was not in existence in Eyre's time, having been built about 1500.[7]

5 St. Mary Overy (III, i, 23) ". . . they gingle in my pocket like S. Mary Overies bels." St. Mary Overy, first a priory church, was rebuilt in 1208. After 1540/1 it served as a parish church. It was located about three hundred yards east of the site of the Globe Theater, near the Southwark end of London Bridge.[8] "The tower dates from the 16th cent., and had a fine peal of 12 bells."[9] The reference, then, to the bells is one that could not be contemporary with Eyre.

6 Savoy (V, ii, 153) ". . . wedded at the Savoy . . ." (Also: V, i, 26; V, i, 31; IV, v, 153-4) The Savoy, a hospital west of the city in the Duchy of Lancaster—less than a mile west of St. Paul's—was built in 1509 by Henry VII on the site of the home of the Duke of Lancaster (which was burned to the ground by Wat Tyler and his rebels in 1381), and the chapel in connection with the hospital served as a parish church.[10]

Five more of these landmarks are employed by Dekker in a context which seems to indicate a use contemporary only with Dekker:

[4] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, II, 42; Besant, *London in the Time of the Tudors*, London, 1904, p. 16; Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 104.

[5] Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[6] Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 54, 312-3, 323.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 17, 183; *New English Dictionary;* Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Cf. mention in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part II*, Act IV, sc. vi, and in Middleton's *The Chaste Maid of Cheapside*, Act III, sc. ii.

[8] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 212.

[9] Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[10] Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 95; Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

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7 Boar's Head (III, i, 68-9) "Boy, did the tapster of the Bores Head fil me a doozen cannes of beere for my journeymen." There were several Boar's Heads, the two most prominent being: (1) One situated on High Street in Southwark. In the latter part of the fifteenth century it was the property of Sir. John Fastolfe; and in 1486 it was given to Magdalen College by William Waynflete. (2) One situated in Eastcheap—which was not an ancient tavern, the first mention of it being in the year 1537.[11] This tavern on Eastcheap is the one immortalized by Shakespeare, but it is not, as some editors have indicated, the inn owned by Fastolfe. The Boar's Head in Eastcheap was probably the one Eyre patronized because of its proximity to Tower Street, where he lived, since the other taverns by the same name were a half mile or more farther away. The immediate return of the boy is additional evidence that the reference is to that Boar's Head which was not in existence in Eyre's time.

8 Eastcheap (III, i, 62-4) "Have not I tane you from selling tripes in Eastcheape, and set you in my shop . . . ?" (V, iv, 25-7) ". . . beggar al Eastcheape, serve me whole oxen in chargers, and let sheepe whine upon the tables . . . Want meat?" Eastcheap was, of course, an old street connecting Candlewick and Tower Streets, and crossing Gracious Street. It seems probable, however, that the reference to the butcher shops shows a usage contemporary only with Dekker, because of Stow's entry: "This Eastcheape is now a flesh Market of Butchers there dwelling, on both sides of the streete. . . ."[12]

9 Gracious Street (III, iv, 40) "Yes, forsooth, at the poulterers in Gracious Street." (V, ii, 180-1—in connection with the location of Leadenhall.) Grasse, Grace, Grace-church, and Gracious Streets are the same—a street running from London Bridge towards Bishopsgate. Like Eastcheap, Gracious Street was an old street, but a similar entry in Stow seems to indicate that its use in the play is contemporary only with Dekker: ". . . the Poulterers are but lately departed from thence [Poultry Street] into other streets, as into Grasse Street. . . ."[13]

10 St. Martin's (I, i, 216) ". . . the couragious cordwainers, the flower of S. Martins . . ." St. Martin's, or St. Martin's le Grand, was a lane south of Aldersgate and north of St. Paul's. Its use is significant because of Stow's entry: ". . . the Shoomakers and Curriors of Cordwayner streete, remoued the one to Saint *Martins Le Grand*, the other to London wall neare vnto Mooregate. . . ."[14]

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[11] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, I, 215; *Dictionary of National Biography*, "William Waynflete"; Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 337; Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Sugden quotes Stow as saying that there was no tavern in Eastcheape during the time of Henry IV, and adds that Dekker's tavern was "no doubt the E. Cheap Tavern."

[12] Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 216; Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 48, quotes Stow.

[13] Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 186.

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 81.

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11 Swan (III, i, 89-90) "The skipper and he are both drinking at the Swan." (Also: III, i, 8-9.) There were several Swans, but the famous tavern by that name was near the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, a short distance north of London Bridge, and was convenient to Eyre's establishment in Tower Street. Because of its prominence and accessible location, it is likely that Dekker meant to refer to it. Of this tavern Stow writes: "One of the most ancient house in this lane is called the leaden porch, and belonged sometime to sir *Iohn Merston* knight, the first of *Edward* the fourth: It is now called the swan in Crooked lane, possessed of strangers, and selling of Rhenish wine." It was not in existence as a tavern in Eyre's time.[15]

The other references are to landmarks that were in existence both during the time of Dekker and that of Eyre. It will not be necessary to give details concerning these landmarks except to point out particularly appropriate or interesting uses.

12 Bedlam (I, i, 217) ". . . the mad knaves of Bedlem. . . ." "Bedlam" is a corruption of "Bethlehem Royal Hospital," in St. George's Fields. In 1402 it was mentioned as being a hospital for lunatics; though it was not so regarded generally until after Henry VIII gave the building to the city of London to be used as a hospital for lunatics in 1547.[16]

13 Conduit (V, i, 45) ". . . when we all served at the Conduit together. . . ." Perhaps the most popular conduit was the one on Cornhill, near the Leadenhall, which was built in 1282.[17]

14 Cornhill Street (II, i, 28-9; IV, ii, 59; V, v, 131).

15 Cripplegate (IV, iii, 66-7).

16 Fleet Street (I, i, 217).

17 Golden Ball (IV, iii, 21; IV, iii, 24; IV, iii, 27).

18 Guildhall (I, i, 65; I, i, 70; I, i, 95; etc.).

19 Islington (V, iv, 47).

20 Ivy Lane (IV, v, 158-9).

21 Leadenhall (V, v, 130-1; V, v, 157; V, v, 161; V, ii, 180-1).

22 London Stone (IV, v, 112-3).

23 Ludgate (I, i, 167-8; I, i, 219; II, iii, 67; III, i, 34-5; V, i, 37-8; V, v, 16-7).

24 Mile End (I, i, 58).

25 Old Ford (II, iv, 9; II, v, 46; III, iii, 58-9; etc.).

26 Paul's Cross (IV, v, 130).

27 Paul's Steeple (IV, v, 112-3).

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[15] Besant, *London in the Time of the Tudors*, p. 338; Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 219.

[16] *New English Dictionary;* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 171. Sugden, *op. cit.*, p. 53, says the hospital was specially set aside for lunatics in 1402.

[17] Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 188.

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28 St. Faith's Church (IV, iii, 30; IV, v, 120; IV, v, 141-2; IV, v, 145; IV, v, 151-2; V, ii, 108).

29 Stratford Bow (III, i, 70) ". . . Spend these two angels in beere at Stratford Boe." Built during the fourteenth century, this tavern was the nearest one to Old Ford on the London road.[18] It is interesting to note that Otley gives the shoemakers the angels to buy beer—not at any tavern which Dekker might think of, but at the closest tavern, one on their road towards town, that of Stratford Bow, or the famous Stratford-atte-Bowe of Chaucer.

30 Tower Hill (I, i, 186).

31 Tothill Fields (I, i, 59).

32 Watling Street (IV, iii, 21; IV, iii, 24; IV, iii, 27).

33 Tower Street (I, i, 127-8; I, i, 217; II, ii, 19; IV, iii, 1).

34 White Chappell (I, i, 217).

35 Woolsack (IV, v, 158-9) ". . . now a messe of shoomakers meate at the Wooll Sack in Ivie Lane. . . ." The Woolsack was an ordinary of low reputation. References to it are found in *The Alchemist* and *The Devil is an Ass.*[19]

Modern editions of *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* such as Lange's and Neilson's[20] indicate that Act III, scene ii, is in a room in Lincoln's house. This direction is not found in the editions printed during Dekker's lifetime, and I find no actual basis for such setting. Lincoln's Inn, the home of the Earls of Lincoln, was located about three-quarters of a mile west of St. Paul's. It was not used as a residence during either period.[21] The scene might just as well, so far as the text is concerned, be at Otley's home, at the Guildhall, or on the streets, where the Earl of Lincoln appears in other scenes.

Other place names occur in the play. Four prominent English counties are referred to; Dover is properly mentioned as the embarking point for English troops; Wittenberg is referred to as the town in which Hans learned the shoemaking trade; Dieppe is given as a landing point for English troops engaging against the French; and several foreign countries are mentioned. None of these references, however, are of importance in this study.

To recapitulate, six of the thirty-five London landmarks in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* are definitely contemporary with Dekker, but

[18] James Thorne, *Handbook of the Environs of London,* in 2 Parts (Volumes), London, 1876, Part II, 578-9; Sugden, *op. cit.,* pp. 489-90.

[19] Gayley, *op. cit.,* p. 82; Sugden, *op. cit.,* p. 566.

[20] In *The Chief Elizabethan Dramatists,* Cambridge, 1911.

[21] Stow, *op. cit.,* II, 90.

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not with Eyre; five more are probably contemporary, in their use, with Dekker, but not with Eyre; and the remaining twenty-one were in existence both during Eyre's time and that of Dekker. While Dekker secured the framework for his comedy from Thomas Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*,[22] he obtained only three of the thirty-five landmarks from that source: Leadenhall, Tower Street, and the Conduit, and these three were contemporary with both Eyre and Dekker. For some reason best known to him, Dekker elected to place the story of the early fifteenth-century Eyre in a particularly accurate late sixteenth-century setting, as a study of the landmarks and their use show.[23]

In a later paper, I shall endeavor to show that Dekker, in contrast to the Elizabethan background, corrected historical inaccuracies of Deloney and substituted actual historic characters of Eyre's time for the characters used by Deloney, thus involving his play in a peculiar anachronism.

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[22] Printed 1597-8. The best modern edition is that edited by Alexis F. Lange, *Palaestra, XVIII*, Berlin, 1903.

[23] Additional evidence of the Elizabethan setting is to be found in the reference to tobacco (Act III, sc. iv), to firearms (Act I, sc. i), etc.

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Studies in Philology

Extra Series MAY, 1929 Number I

GREENES FUNERALLS, 1594, AND NICHOLAS BRETON

By CHARLES CRAWFORD

Although *Greenes Funeralls* was written within twenty-three days of the death of Robert Greene, who died on September 3, 1592, it was held back from publication till 1594, and no entry of it was made in the *Stationers' Register* till February 1, 1593(4). The prevailing opinion concerning its composition is that it was written by its mysterious author a considerable time after Greene died, but an examination of the tract with contemporary documents proves that this opinion is wrong.

The only copy of the work that seems to have come down is the one now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Under the name of Richard Barnefield, who has been mentioned as its likely author, Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica,* describes in a circumstantial manner an edition of 1604, at the same time letting us know that he had no knowledge of the earlier issue. But this 1604 edition, apparently, is otherwise unknown, and it is assumed now that Ritson wrote in error. With this possible exception, no reprint of *Greenes Funeralls* was made until 1911, when Dr. R. B. McKerrow republished it with *Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell,* 1593.

As a composition, the work has been viewed merely as a literary curiosity, devoid of all historical value, and of such bad workmanship that it is extremely doubtful whether that much over-rated poetaster, Richard Barnefield, could have penned it. If it had not been related to Greene, and had failed to corroborate the charge against Shakespeare and others of purloining Greene's plumes, the tract would have sunk into oblivion, and only have been remembered by curious antiquarians. Nobody seems to have noticed that

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the tract was written to meet an urgent occasion, and in such haste that the author wrote it in "but a part of an houre," and nobody seems to have been aware that in its sonnets portraits are drawn, in little, of Edmund Spenser, Thomas Watson, Anthony Chute, Abraham Fraunce, Gabriel Harvey, and the printer, John Wolfe, who lodged Harvey, and did his publishing as well. It has been confidently stated that Edmund Spenser kept aloof from the quarrels Harvey engaged himself in with Greene, Nashe, and other "rimers and stage-plaiers," but *Greenes Funeralls* tells quite a different story, the fact of Spenser's partisanship with the Harvey brothers being resented by R. B., who was one of his friends. Again, the trifle that Thomas Watson died with tragic suddenness is news, and not without interest to admirers of his poems. Surely, a poem that deals with such matters as these cannot be classed as worthless; and if it fails to reach the standard of good poetry, it may be pleaded in its author's favour that he did not waste much of his time in penning it.

But, if the matter were so urgent, and the poem demanded such haste in its writing, why did R. B. keep it back until 1594? That question will answer itself as we go on.

Who was R. B.? My evidence says he was Nicholas Breton. In the proper places I will show he used these initials often, and that he had a habit of writing under false signatures, his purpose for doing so being a desire to screen himself from readers. The truth of the matter is that Breton often got himself into difficulties with other writers, whose works he belittled; and he increased their animosity by going out of his way to challenge them to criticise his own productions, his defiances to them being worded insolently, and with an evident desire to provoke a quarrel. As could only be expected, his enemies were not slow to pick up the gauntlet, with the result that they condemned all he wrote, whether good, bad, or indifferent; one special point of theirs being that Breton was a rhymer, and no poet. This latter reflection on his verse went home, and rankled in his mind, as is proved in his *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, 1592, in which, when hitting back at his critics, he informs them that the Countess of Pembroke had deigned to name him "her poet." In later years, when he was in sore trouble with his detractors, he obtained assistance from Ben Jonson, who sided with him, and addressed a poem to him praising him as "a true poet." The persistent attacks on his reputa-

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tion at last drew things to such a pass that he was sometimes afraid to publish what he wrote under his own name, and resorted to the subterfuge of using doubtful signatures. Perhaps the most outstanding instance of this fear of his is to be found in the collection of poems he gave to Francis Davison for use in the *Poetical Rhapsody*. We know from a list drawn up in Davison's own handwriting, still extant, the first lines of the pieces that formed the collection, and therefore can recognize a goodly number of Breton's contributions to the *Rhapsody*. But none of these are signed with Breton's own name, and only one is subscribed in the first edition with the initials, A. W., and four above the *nom-de-plume*, Anomos., these latter, in subsequent reprints, being left unsigned. It appears there was an understanding between Davison and Breton that the latter's name was to be suppressed, his identity being merely glanced at in the signatures, A. W. and Anomos, and then only in the five cases mentioned above. I will have more to say about A. W. later, because Breton used those initials several times, notably above verses praising the 1575 edition of his father-in-law's *Posies*.

Anticipating what I shall have to say about Breton's many anthologies, most of which were assigned to others, printers and publishers being among the happy people thus honoured, I must point out here that the *Rhapsody* was not compiled by Davison, but by Breton. It was Davison's intention to do the whole of the work entailed in the editing, and for that purpose he gathered together many specimens of the verse of his relatives and friends, adding to these pieces of his own and the great batch of poems handed to him by Breton. But before matters had gone much farther, Breton, who had an obsession for compiling anthologies, gently shouldered Davison out of the job, and kept him out until the work was completed and in type. When Davison saw the printed work, it astonished him, for it contained much matter that was new to him, its arrangement was not in accordance with his ideas, and the names of his friends and his own were subscribed to their contributions, a matter that was contrary to his wish and theirs. For all these things, Davison blames the printer, who is thus invested with the dignity of editor, Breton, the real culprit, remaining in the back-ground, enjoying the hoax he had played upon his friends. The story is not told in this naked way in Davison's address to readers, but it is implied, for Davison makes

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it clear that somebody else, other than himself, compiled the *Rhapsody*. That this somebody was Breton there can be no doubt, because he is by far the largest contributor to the work; he was an expert in compiling anthologies; he loved to play practical jokes on his friends, as well as on his enemies; and he did precisely the same thing, in the same manner, in some of his other collections. Add to this evidence the circumstance that one of Breton's own poems, a piece mentioned in the A. W. list drawn up by Davison himself, is assigned to the latter, a sort of favour that Breton is found constantly bestowing on friends in all his mixed gatherings of verse, as will be shown later on. That Davison did not disclaim this doubtful gift from his officious friend seems to be certain, for he is still left in possession of it; and, therefore, we must in charity suppose he knew nothing about the honour that had been bestowed upon him in such a strange fashion. But it is noticeable that others whom Breton favoured in the same way were equally silent concerning verses attributed to them, a fact which seems to indicate that they felt grateful to him for his compliments. And they had reason, in most cases, for not disowning the poems; for, as a rule, he gave them good stuff, which has been to all of them ever since a feather in their caps. One solitary voice only, so far as I remember, was raised in protest against these generous gifts of Breton's, and that was Thomas Heywood's, in reference to what Shakespeare had told him about *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the great poet and dramatist being irritated by the premature publication of two of his sonnets, and his name being unlawfully used by Breton to gull the public into the belief that he compiled the anthology. Heywood's complaint is made in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, but the grumble he makes upon his own behalf is frivolous, for a greater plagiarist than he never put pen to paper; and Breton was, besides, within his province, according to the notions of the time, in making use of poems in his collections that had already appeared in print. Of course, I am assuming that Breton compiled the *Pilgrim*, and I have the strongest reasons for this assumption, and can defend it. But now I must go back to Breton's quarrels with other authors.

One of the A. W. poems enables us to form some kind of conception of the deep offence Breton took in regard to the depreciation of his verse. This piece is rendered in the form of an ode,

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and is headed, "To his Muse."[1] It is practically a farewell to poetry, and a first-class specimen of the poet's craft, a little gem, and but one of many quite as good to be found in the *Rhapsody*. I have space enough only for the opening stanza of this bitter and clever poem:

> Rest, good my Muse, and give me leave to rest;
> We strive in vain:
> Conceal thy skill within thy sacred breast,
> Though to thy pain.
> The honour great which Poets wont to have,
> With worthy deeds is buried deep in grave;
> Each man will hide his name,
> Thereby to hide his shame;
> And silence is the praise their virtues crave.

Men who have studied Breton's poetry do not need to be told where to find exact parallels in his accredited writings of the manner and phrasing of that stanza, as well as of the rest of the poem in which it appears. Here is a case in point, the opening of a ditty in Part II *Daffodils and Primroses,* No. 29 (Grosart):

> Pawse awhile, my pritty muse,
> Let me rest, for I am werie;
> All the musicke thou canst use
> Cannot make thy master merry.

Breton disowned in the same manner much of his secular verse, because it was either controversial, and intended to set men by the ears and hoax them, or because it was lewd stuff that sometimes was grossly indecent. His religious friends would have been offended if they had known he wrote such questionable matter, for they regarded him as one of their best singers, and not the least of the elect. And this is true of his writings, that he alternated the composition of devotional poetry with that of secular performances, transferring to the latter portions of his sacred verse to act as ditties, more or less lascivious in their suggestiveness. I will mention but one of many transfers he made from sacred to secular verse, and then only because it brings to view another of his anthologies, this time fathered on Thomas Deloney: I refer to *The Garland of Good Will,* of uncertain date.

The last piece in that collection is a two-part song, sung by a

[1] Bullen's ed., II, 68.

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man and a woman, alternately, as a request by the one, and a reply by the other. It commences:

What face so faire that is not crackt with gold?[1]

That song, with some variations, appears in Breton's *Pilgrimage to Paradise,* 1592, and forms stanzas 106, 108, 112, and 114 of the poem.

Breton was playing the good Samaritan upon this occasion, by giving poor Tom Deloney a lift. He obtained from Deloney a number of his ballads, and intermixed with them some choice pieces of his own, to give the collection tone and colour, and make it a saleable work. There is other evidence available to show that this was not the only occasion on which Breton aided Deloney, who was a very good fellow, but shockingly poor. He made a mistake in writing ballads, and should have devoted himself to prose. Deloney's prose pamphlets are excellent reading, and should be more widely known.

Although Breton made himself known to all men, and lived on terms of intimacy with the noted writers of his time, was well connected, and an influential man with struggling authors, printers, publishers, and others who were in some way or another concerned with the Stationers' Company, and, besides, had been admitted to the friendship of Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, and other personages of high rank, it seems almost uncanny that so little direct mention of him is made in contemporary writings. He is reticent to the extreme about his own doings, and is no real boaster of his own merits as a writer, or of the great people who were his friends; and very often, when alluding to himself is content to call himself "the Gentleman" who did this or that, others indicating him in the same fashion. His enemies, even, when attacking him, do so in an oblique manner, by naming his productions, quoting obscure passages in his writings, or make their onslaughts on him by mention of the false or doubtful signatures that it was his almost habitual practice to employ. When Thomas Nashe had a fling at him in the preface to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella,* 1591, he conducted his attack in a general sort of way, making it applicable to a class of writers, not to Breton especially; but when we examine closely what Nashe

[1] Deloney's *Works,* Clarendon Press ed., p. 379.

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said, and find that he mentions *The Bowre of Delights,* and further on in his diatribe brings in a line of the *Amoris Lachrimae* for special ridicule, it becomes apparent that Breton is the person he is aiming at all through, and that something quite unusual had caused him to lose his temper. Others acted similarly, as though they were half afraid to attack Breton openly. There is more behind Nashe's attack than appears on the surface, for it is certain, according to my evidence, that Breton was the person responsible for the premature publication of Sidney's work, and the turning of it into part of an anthology by appending to it sonnets and poems by Samuel Daniel, the Earl of Oxford, pieces of his own, and of other writers. How Nashe contrived to whip in his preface to the work is the mystery; but his attack on Breton makes it plain, as I see things, that he knew the latter had put the collection together, and that he made the writing of his preface the occasion of paying off some old grudge.

Breton's secretiveness, his attempts to shun publicity, and his disregard of fame, as indicated by his use of enigmatic superscriptions, and his practice of foisting good verse of his own upon others, is displayed even in the poems he wrote commending other men's productions. In these he is always found taking a back seat, his contributions following those of other men, who, as in the case of Gascoigne's writings, should, in the ordinary course of things, have followed, not have gone before him. And with his own friends he is not frank, making his praise of them seem to outsiders somewhat questionable, by commending them at different times under varied signatures. The verses he wrote praising Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* 1590, come last, and are signed Ignoto; and those he contributed to his father-in-law's *Posies,* and *Steele Glasse,* are in the rearward and subscribed differently, A. W., and Nicholas Bowyer, respectively.

In his authenticated work he is often found shuffling to get rid of it, in a half-ashamed sort of fashion, by reversing his initials and signing it with imperfect anagrams of his own name, such as Bonerto, Solobein Treboun, and N. Ber, instead of N. Bre. Because he had had a tiff with his printer, Richard Jones, he disowned his *Bowre of Delights,* and wished readers to believe that Jones had obtained it in a manner unknown to him, and falsely assigned the work to him, his share in it being but small. On another occasion he disclaimed his authorship of a pamphlet of

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his own composition, telling readers he was merely its editor. It is named *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Young Mans Love,* and was published in 1605. His anthologies, and the collections of songs that he gave to great composers to set to music, are packed with pieces of his verse, most of which he left unclaimed, or disowned by ascribing them to others; and a great deal of his work was allowed to float about in manuscript, some of it, including his lengthy devotional poem, *The Countess of Pembroke's Passion,* not being credited to him in print until within quite recent years. But his plan of crediting celebrated men with his compositions was the master-piece of all, some of these great men, so far as we know, having never on any other occasions been seen walking in the neighbourhood of Helicon. Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edward Dyer, the Earl of Oxford, and others, too many to be mentioned here, are among the celebrities upon whom Breton bestowed the children of his fancy. The mere circumstance that a man had attained to fame in some way, even if only as a navigator, or a soldier, was a sufficient recommendation for him to become a candidate for the author's cast-off progeny. He did not fear to fly at even higher game than mere lords and baronets, for he assigned one of his ditties to King James, whom he avowed to be its author, and told the friend he gave it to a circumstantial story as to the conditions under which his sacred majesty painfully penned it. But it is on record that his friend had but a small throat, and could not swallow the tall story, the manuscript that contains it being still extant. The ditty, and what was said about it, appears in Grosart's Part II *Daffodils and Primroses,* No. 5, from the Tanner MSS., and begins:

In sunny beames the skye dothe shewe her sweete.

Breton's habit of hoarding up his compositions and of publishing them in later years caused them when they appeared in public to be like things that were out of date or season. Why did he publish *Greenes Funeralls* in 1594, two years after the poet's death? I can only suppose that his reason for keeping it back in 1592 had ceased to appeal to him, and that a new turn in the literary quarrels raging in 1594 revived his animosity against the personages that are but thinly veiled in his poem.

A similar case is found in *The Phoenix Nest,* 1593, another of his anthologies, ascribed to a mystery man, R. S., the piece to be

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noticed being a pamphlet called "The Dead Mans Right." It is nearly all in prose, with six lines of verse at its close. Like the *Funeralls*, it is the defence of a dead man against libellers. But the subject of it, Robert, Earl of Leicester, died in 1588, and, therefore, one might imagine that to rake up such old matters in 1593 would sound to readers like a twice-told tale. Apparently, something had disturbed the compiler, and he deemed the matter so urgent that this old tract must be revived to serve a present occasion; and rather than miss the opportunity of using it at once, he thrust it right in front of the title-page, because, as I suppose, there was no other place to fit it in, the remainder of the volume being in type. Now, it turns out that in 1593 there was much commotion in exalted circles about the posting upon walls and in public places of seditious libels against the State, and the authorities believed that prominent writers were more or less responsible for the draughting of them. Thomas Kyd was arrested, and put to the torture; and Christopher Marlowe and others were either detained or kept under close watch, as suspicious persons. It seems in the highest degree probable that these happenings, which could not but be exciting to a literary man, caused Breton to unearth his old apology for Leicester, and publish it broadcast in a conspicuous manner, if only to show that at least one loyal subject was not in sympathy with the libellers, though they might belong to his own craft or profession. This Leicester pamphlet is ascertained to be by Breton because it is written in his unmistakable prose, and contains odd and out-of-the-way expressions repeated verbatim in his acknowledged writings. Moreover, the six lines of verse at its close are a very close paraphrase of a part of his *Amorus Lachrimae*, in which the parallel lines are ranged in the same order precisely, but spaced out, the intervening matter being but an expansion of the several lines, flourishes, as it were, made to stress Sidney's virtues, and acclaim him as the hero of his time, the flower of chivalry.

The initials, R. S., will be mentioned again later; in the meantime, I would hazard a guess that in this case they may stand for the name of Richard Stanyhurst, upon whom, in his old way, Breton has bestowed the honour of appearing as the editor of *The Phoenix Nest*. I am not in love with this conjecture of mine, and would not have mentioned it had it not been for the fact that two whole sonnets in *Greenes Funeralls*, assigned to R. S., have been

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traced by Dr. R. B. McKerrow to Richard Stanyhurst's Psalms, appended to his translation of the first four books of the *Aeneid*.

I will now hark back to the first part of my paper, and show that *Greenes Funeralls* was, as its author stated, bundled together in great haste to meet a present urgent occasion, and will fix the time of its composition, and explain why it was not put to the press in 1592.

A little while before he died, Greene had published his *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, in which he made some biting references to Gabriel Harvey, and members of that worthy man's family. It was but a short passage, some seven or eight lines, that contained the attack, and for reasons that have been variously stated, Greene told the printer to cut them out. Unfortunately, some copies of the *Quip* had already got abroad, and the offensive matter had been read by Harvey, and also by others, who were not in love with him. The reflections on his father particularly enraged Harvey, who hastily made his way up to London, intent on bringing an action against Greene. But he was forestalled, for Greene died a few days after his arrival in town. No copy of the *Quip* containing the attack seems to have survived, but its gist is known, and Thomas Nashe makes fine fun out of it in his *Foure Letters Confuted*, 1592.

Balked of his revenge in the Courts, Harvey paid a visit to Greene's lodging, and obtained from his landlady, Mistress Isam, an account of the poet's miserable ending, which he described in a malignant epistle he despatched to Christopher Bird, a fellow-townsman of Saffron-Walden. This letter is dated September 5, 1592, two days after Greene's death, and Harvey included it in his *Foure Letters*, &c., 1592, a pamphlet registered in the Stationers' books on December 4, same year.

Now, it is very singular that the contents of the Harvey-Bird letter were known to R. B. of *Greenes Funeralls*, and that he made use of them in his tract, side by side with an appeal to Thomas Watson, the poet, to come out into the open and help him to defend Greene's memory. But R. B.'s appeal was rendered vain by the premature and apparently sudden death of Watson, who was buried in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Less on the 26 September, just three weeks subsequent to the penning of the letter to Bird. How, and where did R. B. obtain his knowledge of Harvey's letter?

For a time I could not answer that question, and had to come

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to a standstill; afterwards, however, it occurred to me that I may have been lax in my reading, and that if I consulted my authorities again I might find something that would explain the difficulty, or come upon a clue that might assist to straighten things out. At this point Dr. McKerrow came to the rescue, as the following extract from his edition of *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (V. 81) will show:

> This letter is included in Harvey's *Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused*, of which it forms the second, but this was not, I believe, its first appearance in print. For the reasons which I have given elsewhere [*Works*, IV, pp. 152-53], I think that it was first issued separately, or with perhaps a brief address to the reader, some considerable time before the complete *Foure Letters* appeared. I must confess that I have failed to find any copy of such a publication at present in existence, but the references to it seem to point unmistakably to this conclusion.

Dr. McKerrow's conjecture is apparently supported by *Greenes Funeralls*, and what he says explains in a satisfying manner how R. B. could obtain his knowledge of what Harvey told Bird. But, however R. B. got his information, the dating of the tract does not depend upon the prior issue in a printed form of the letter, because the appeal to Watson, and the unexpected death of that poet prove sufficiently that *Greenes Funeralls* must have been composed between September 5 and September 26. It follows, I think, that the cause of the delay in publishing the tract was the circumstance of Watson's premature death, which rendered R. B.'s appeal vain, and abortive. The reason for the publication of *Greenes Funeralls* in 1594, I have already attempted to explain, so there is no need to mention it again, for it has nothing to do with the date of the writing of the tract.

Two other pamphlets, not in print when *Greenes Funeralls* was written, are remembered in the latter, the only inference one can draw from the circumstance being that R. B. had read them in the manuscript. I refer to the well-known booklets, *Greenes Groatsworth of Wit*, and *The Repentance of Robert Greene*, both printed in 1592. The *Groatsworth* was registered on the 20 September, but the *Repentance* was not passed through the register till the following month, October 6, 1592. The riddle is, why were not they registered at the same time. We know that the former tract was complete before Greene died, but that it was written in such

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a shaky and bad hand that Henry Chettle, who prepared it for the press, had to copy it over to make it readable for the printers. But that matter did not prevent the tract being hastily registered. Chettle states that he deleted a portion of it, because it dealt too harshly with living authors; otherwise, the work seems to be thoroughly genuine, and in the state that Greene left it. With the *Repentance,* however, matters seem to be quite different. Portions of it are but a mere repetition of the alleged author's *Confessions of Ned Browne;* and though Greene often transferred matter from one of his works to another, it does not strike me that he did that in this case. As it appears now, the *Repentance* looks like a forgery, or partly so, and the delay in registering it seems to have been due to the fact that its editor put it together himself, basing it perhaps upon memoranda found among Greene's papers. As I see things, the *Repentance,* if it had been complete when the poet died, should have been registered with the *Groatsworth,* and not kept back from notification till October 6, a space of sixteen days, sufficient time for a forger to concoct it. And another suspicious thing connected with the *Repentance* is that readers are left to infer that its editor was Cuthbert Burby, the printer, who signs the address to readers. Seeing that the address is written in Breton's prose, and that a part of it is repeated in sonnet 12 of *Greenes Funeralls;* and noting also what the late Mr. Churton Collins stated in regard to the same sonnet, that it is but a "translation" of a prayer in the *Repentance,* said to have been uttered by Greene when dying; the suspicions as to the genuineness of the tract seem to be well grounded. To enable me to explain how C. B., *alias* Nicholas Breton, was able to use the *Repentance* in *Greenes Funeralls,* or to repeat in the latter what he had concocted in the tract, I must now exhibit Breton in his capacity of professional collector or "begetter" of unpublished writings. Remembering what seems most certainly to have transpired on similar occasions when Breton obtained possession of dead men's literary remains, I assume that in this instance he gave Chettle the *Groatsworth* to prepare for the press, and himself undertook the work necessary for the launching of the *Repentance.*

Harvey was not the only person who paid a visit to Greene's lodging, and obtained from the Isams particulars of the sad ending of the author; for, according to the *Repentance,* Breton (not Burby, the printer) also called, and learned how he died. His

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narrative is contained in a note appended to the pamphlet, headed, "The manner of the death and last end of Robert Greene, Maister of Artes."

The story told in the *Repentance* is a more humane one than that found in Harvey's malignant epistle to Bird, and it supplies intimate details that could hardly have been furnished by persons other than those who attended Greene in his illness. Harvey, too, does not seem to have known that the night before the poet died he was visited by a friend, who cheered him by telling him that his wife was well, and sent him kindly greetings. That friend I assume to be Breton himself, for the incident is mentioned only in the *Repentance*. On the contrary, Harvey makes a malicious point of stressing the alleged circumstance that in his illness all Greene's former friends deserted him, and that only two persons, women, came to see him; one, the mother of his illegitimate son, Fortunatus Greene, and the other, a Mistress Appleby, whose mission was not one of comfort, but to complain of his injuries to her.

Breton's second visit was not, I believe, prompted solely by a desire to express his condolences; for, as the sequel seems to prove, he came also with a view of conducting some strict business, his object being to bargain for the dead man's papers. That his bargaining had results according to his wish is implied, I take it, by his being able to use unpublished writings of Greene in *Greenes Funeralls*.

This was not the only occasion upon which Breton played the rôle of the birds that flock to prey upon a dead carcass, because it can be shown that by some means or other he contrived to get possession after their death of the literary remains, or part of them, of Sir Philip Sidney, Christopher Marlowe, and Father Robert Southwell. It was Breton who launched the collection of the latter's poems printed in 1595; and it was he, also, who caused that noble martyr's *A Foure-fold Meditation* to be published in 1606, in this case signing himself W. H., the initials he used when, against the great dramatist's wish, he gave Shakespeare's *Sonnets* to Thomas Thorpe to make public, in 1609. Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* fragment was quite a familiar poem to Breton long before it was put into print, for he quotes four of its lines with verbal exactness in one of his disowned productions, in 1596; and he seems to have been chary about letting the fragment pass out of his hands until, perforce, he had to let George Chapman, who com-

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pleted the poem, have access to it. It was registered in 1593, but Breton kept a tight hold on the manuscript, not giving it to John Wolfe, who passed it into the Stationers' books as his property; and he played fast and loose with the fragment by handing it to another publisher in 1598, Edward Blount, ignoring Wolfe's prior claim on it. In that case he wrote a pompous dedication to Sir Thomas Walsingham, which Blunt obediently signed. And there is the *Elegies* of Ovid to be mentioned, a work which seems to be an anthology in itself, translations by several hands. Breton apparently permitted Thomas Nashe to see at least one of them, the third elegy of Book II, two whole lines of which the latter cites verbatim in his *The Unfortunate Traveller,* 1593.

At this time Breton and Nashe were seemingly on the best of terms, as thick as two thieves together, all old differences between them having been smoothed over; so much so, that Breton thought he might safely practice on his old traducer the special tricky hoax he played upon other authors, as I will show later on—his father-in-law, Shakespeare, and Robert Toft being among his victims.

It appears that Nashe's *The Terrors of the Night* was ready for publication prior to the 30 June, 1593, but that he held it back until 1594, the second entry of it in the *Stationers' Register* being under date October 25 of that year. Before it came to the printing, he added matter to his pamphlet. Now we come to a little incident that happened some time after the author had completed the first draught of his work, which displays Breton (or the devil!) at his old antics, borrowing from an author one of his unpublished performances, ostensibly to have the pleasure of reading it in privacy at his own home, but really, when once gotten, to have it printed, and withing consulting the mug who trusted him. Nashe tells the story in his own inimitable fashion, as follows, from which it might be gathered that Breton affected the spade beard, and was not averse from reaping some profit out of his deeds of trickery:

> A long time since hath it line suppressed by mee; untill the urgent importunitie of a kinde frend of mine (to whom I was sundrie waies be-holding) wrested a Coppie from me. That Coppie progressed from one scriveners shop to another, & at length grew so common, that it was readie to bee hung out for one of their signes, like a paire of indentures. Whereuppon I thought it as good for mee to reape the frute of my owne labours, as to let some unskilfull pen-man or Noverint-maker startch his ruffe & new spade his beard with the benefite he made of them.[8]

[8] *Works,* McKerrow's ed., I, 341, l. 22.

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Nashe was only just in time to save his work from sharing the fate that befell Shakespeare's *Sonnets,* Toft's *Laura,* and Gascoigne's *Posies*!

It remains for me to add, that long before I deciphered this transaction, I had been compelled by my notes to credit Breton with the composition of a lengthy poem in *The Phoenix Nest,* 1593, entitled, "A Most Rare, and Excellent Dreame,"[4] which actually is partly founded upon Nashe's *The Terrors of the Night,* and sometimes treats of dreams and their causes in the selfsame words. It follows, as I take it, that Breton, before he wrote his poem, consulted the tract that he had wheedled Nashe into lending him.

The acknowledgment of Nashe that he was in "sundrie waies be-holding" to the friend who betrayed his confidence demands a pause here, because it is more than likely that one of the favours Breton did him had relation to Marlowe's posthumous *Tragedie of Dido,* 1594. It is almost certain that Marlowe completed this drama just before he was foully murdered, and that the manuscript of it came into Breton's hand some little time after the author's death, June 1, 1593. All the critics are agreed that Marlowe's hand appears in every part of it, yet Nashe is named in the title-page as joint author with Marlowe. It is a monstrous claim, a huge hoax on readers; and that hoax, I think, could only have been played by Breton himself, who gave it to Nashe to prepare it for the press, just as he gave Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* to Henry Chettle to perform the like service. Nashe and Chettle simply dotted Marlowe's and Greene's i's, and crossed their t's, to save the printers some trouble in their work. And, Breton rewarded Nashe in a more than royal manner; because, no King could have displayed his liberality more, nor have bestowed a greater honour upon any man, than he did in this case, by causing Nashe's name to appear with Marlowe's in the title-page of *Dido.*

Another circumstance that helps to prove that Nashe and Breton had become reconciled, and were friends in 1592, is to be found in Sonnet 8 of *Greenes Funeralls,* where the author promises to assist others who were engaged in the rumpus with the Harveys, Nashe, of course, being the most prominent of Greene's defenders. Here I quote:

[4] Heliconia ed., p. 42.

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> Greenes but a foolish man, and such as him doe defend.
> Yet will I ever write both to defend and offend;
> For to defend his friends, and to offend his foes.

In the case of the posthumous writings of Sidney, Southwell, Greene, Marlowe, and others, it is the documents that were printed with them that mainly give Breton away, most of these being penned in his best (and worse) flamboyant vein, and with no attempt on his part to disguise his hand in them; and in nearly all of them material is found that, when deciphered, tells tales of hoaxing, trickery, and fraud, publishers and printers being used as curtains to hide the artful dodger. He captured in some strange manner the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies, printed them with Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, and the translations of Ovid's *Elegies*, and then appended to them grossly indecent verses, apparently founded upon scattered remnants picked out of John Marston's *Satires, Scourge of Villainy*, and the same author's *The Malcontent*, and subscribed them with one of his favorite signatures, Ignoto. Of course, the work then became but one more of his collections of mixed verse. Contamination is found in all authors' works which Breton handled.

The most serious pursuit that Breton engaged himself in from his youth to late in his literary career was in the compilation of anthologies; in the collecting of short pieces of verse, which he gave to composers to set to music; and in the bringing together in dictionary form of wise and notable sentences. To carry out this work he depended greatly upon his own ready pen and reading, and had assistants, who worked under his directions and added matter to his gatherings. The miscellaneous nature of the work, and his desire to furnish his collections as far as possible with matter that had not appeared previously in print, compelled Breton to spend much of his time visiting authors and men known to be dabblers in poetry; but the supplies from these writers frequently ran short, the result being that he reprinted old compositions from a variety of sources, and sometimes tried to make them look fresh by alterations, or by re-casting them altogether. In his dictionaries of quotations he met with much trouble, and found it very often necessary to change prose into verse and *vice versa*. Hundreds of these changes are to be met with in his *Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses*, 1600, and in *Wits Commonwealth*, 1597. But though he dealt in this drastic fashion with the material he gathered, it seems to be extremely probable that none of his extracts

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in any of his collections was wholly concocted, either by himself or by his helpers.

There is a sonnet fronting *Belvedere,* written in a pompous vein, and addressed to a mystery man, one John Bodenham, which gives us a picture of Breton in his rôle of collector or "begetter." When one has fathomed the humbug at the bottom of this ornate poem, it is fine fun to read how he is compared to a bee, spending his spirits in laborious care, and nightly bringing home his gathered honey. The sonnet is fathered on Anthony Munday, one of his drudges, upon whom elsewhere he heaps scorn in a document that is supposed to commend that worthy, who was, according to Breton, a dull ass, and one who had no ear for verse nor music.

All of these collections, so far as the signatures of authors are concerned, are thoroughly dishonest, and utterly unreliable; and very often when he reprinted the pieces in other works, to hoax readers and make them think he is correcting old blunders, he made changes frequently in the superscriptions, making matters much worse than before. The way he worked these alterations is partly told in *Englands Helicon,* 1600, in an address to the reader signed with the reversed initials of Nicholas Ling, the publisher, the said address being written by Breton himself, with his usual repetitions, parts of it being found in the same form in the 1573 *Posies,* and in *Belvedere.* His own contributions to the several works are rarely owned outright by Breton, many of them, even in the same volume, being left anonymous, or signed with *nom-de-plumes,* strange initials, and with the names of other men, some of whom we can recognize, some not. As a matter of fact, his governing principle in the distribution of his material was this, that he made a point of honouring his friends with compositions they did not write, and extended his favours to celebrities, to enhance the value of his collections, and wilfully defrauded authors in doing so. Some of these works name only a few writers under the quotations, and others leave the writers unnamed, a list being supplied by the authors who had been laid under contribution. But these lists are almost valueless, and were evidently drawn up at random, and for the purpose of making readers think that the material was only obtained after much research, ancient and modern authors of all countries being consulted, including not only sages of antiquity, but Fathers of the Church, historians, philosophers, and men who had distinguished themselves in every walk of life. As matters

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turn out, the greater portion of the material was obtained from English works, the authors being sometimes but very humble people, and of no account. I make these statements only after having traced the quotations and poems in these pretentious volumes to their proper sources, and have methodised many thousands of them, the great majority of which were wrongly assigned by Breton.

So much for the present about anthologies; and now for works like those I have named as having been secured by Breton from the custodians of papers belonging to Sir Philip Sidney, Robert Greene, and Christopher Marlowe.

Breton has made no secret about the manner in which he secured what he calls "hidden works," that is, compositions that had not appeared previously in print. What I am about to say now concerning his methods is only a repetition of what he wrote in his father-in-law's *Posies*, edition of 1573. He got what he wanted by playing the old confidence trick, asking authors to permit him as a friend, and in strict confidence, to let him have their writings to peruse at his own home at leasure; and, having obtained what he wanted, he lost no time in putting the works entrusted to him into the hands of scriveners and printers, to be published. He made no account of the authors; did not consult them about the publication; and did not care a straw what they might think of his proceedings. From 1573, onwards, he seems never to have altered his tactics with injured writers, his plan of working being regulated in the same fashion, and monotonously so. He must, I think, have had great powers of persuasion, a plausible tongue, and have been also a dabster at playing the confidence trick. The strange thing is that the wronged authors seem to have been bewitched by him, for even Nashe, a most notable swash-buckler with his pen, though he knew Breton had tried to diddle him over his *The Terrors of the Night*, yet took things lying down like a lamb, and scarcely bleated; and his father-in-law, upon whom he played the same prank, not only forgave Breton, but actually imitated his wity and unscrupulous son-in-law in regard to a work that Sir Humphrey Gilbert had lent him to read. Of that incident, more later on.

Breton regarded these betrayals as smart strokes of business, and usually sounds a note of triumph concerning them in the matter he affixed to the works. In the case of the Shakespeare *Sonnets* his elation is too great for words; hence, he hides himself, making

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Thorpe, the publisher, sound the note of triumph in a trumpet-like dedication addressed to himself, he being W. H. for the nonce, initials, as I have said before, used by him in the dedication he wrote when launching Southwell's *A Foure-fold Meditation.* The crow of victory in the last-named work, though more subdued in its tone, yet is audible, for what he says to his patron declares plainly that he was brimming over with satisfaction at having got hold of such an important prize. Presently, when I come to deal with another of his captures, Robert Toft's *Laura,* it will be seen that the dedication prefixed to that work tells the story of its capture and surreptitious publication in the same words that were used by Breton when he told his tale about the unwarranted printing of the 1573 *Posies,* in which he appears as H. W., the first form of the signature in the Shakespeare and Southwell works mentioned above. And this twice-told tale is drubbed into our ears again, with almost tiresome repetition of phrase, in *Willobie his Avisa,* where he poses as Hadrian Dorrell, and masks his authorship of the poem under the initials H. W., a superscription that in or about 1594 blossomed into Henry Willobie.

The publication of some of these ill-gotten writings gave Breton an opportunity of ridding himself of old matter, which he appends to them; and it enabled him also to meddle with the authors' texts, as well as to make alterations in the matter of their arrangement. Toft was treated very badly; and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* did not escape scot-free from Breton's meddlesome fingers. The two last sonnets of the Shakespeare collection are manifest forgeries and additions; and others in it are in Breton's manner and phraseology. Shakespeare did not pen *A Lover's Complaint;* it is a composition of Breton's, and should have been subscribed Ignoto, the signature given to the gamesome verses appended to the collection of poems by Marlowe and Sir John Davies, mentioned previously. Finally, if it be such an important matter, and one that should be solved, ask Nicholas Breton how the Shakespeare *Sonnets* acquired their present sequence!

Probably, the first time Breton played false with an author's writings occurred in relation to his father-in-law's *Posies,* which he committed to the press, entirely on his own responsibility, in 1573, naming his edition, *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres.* In that work we find him up to his neck in clover, playing up high jinks, and bubbling over with merriment and triumph. Gascoigne, at

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the time, was away on active service in the Low Countries, and Breton, having the run of his house, could do just as he pleased. There being no let or hindrance in his way, he ransacked the author's study from top to bottom, and gathered together sufficient material to fill a volume, which he arranged in such a way as to give it the appearance of an anthology. This arrangement was facilitated by the circumstance that it was Gascoigne's practice to append to most of his poems mottos, especially to pieces he had written to assist men in their love-affairs. All Breton had to do was to put into batches certain of the poems subscribed with the same mottos, and, when dealing with them, tell readers that the four divisions thus obtained were each the performance of a different writer. The superscriptions in these cases were, *Si fortunatus infelix; Spreta tamen vivant; Ferenda Natura;* and *Meritum petere, grave.* Of the remainder of the work, he gave only a portion to Gascoigne, bestowing the rest, a pamphlet in prose and verse, on a certain F. J. As this latter lengthy piece is subscribed "Ever or Never," I give that motto special mention here, because I shall have more to say about it anon, and about the posy, *Meritum petere, grave,* as well.

To deceive readers the more thoroughly as to the paternity of the poems and his dealings with them, Breton concocted three epistles, one supposed to have been written by a certain G. T., who plays the double rôle of collector or "begetter" of the poems, and their editor; one signed H. W., who acts as the dishonest broker; and the other was palmed off on the printer, a person who writes first-class prose, and betrays his reading, he being made to stand between H. W. and G. T. as umpire and censor of the work. It is but a bagatelle that this printer, whose name was Henry Bynneman, is called A. B., initials that Breton used subsequently as editor of *Englands Helicon,* and as the commander of *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses,* a work of his own compilation. The initials, G. T., most probably stand for the name of George Turbervile, a friend of the Gascoigne family, upon whom we may assume Breton is playing one of his tricks. As regards H. W., he is too familiar to need more than mention here.

I will now turn to *Willobie his Avisa,* a poem of Breton's youth, one which he re-cast and thoroughly revised between 1592 and 1594. An examination of the story told about this piece with the tale told about the antecedents of the 1573 *Posies,* makes it suffi-

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ciently clear that one story is founded upon the other. Hence, we may say that Breton, who wished to disown *Avisa,* adopted the plan of getting rid of it that had succeeded so well in his earlier work, everybody, even up to our own time, being gulled by what was said about the make-up of the earlier work. Unfortunately, none of the commentators on the first edition of the *Posies* seems to have thought it worth while to remember that there was a bright young spark in Gascoigne's own house, who could write good stuff as fast as his hand could trot, and that this youth might possibly be the party who played fast and loose with his father-in-law's papers when he was away on her Majesty's service in the Low Countries. But it only goes to show that there is some truth in the old saying, "An Englishman dearly loves a lord"; and, therefore, Nicholas Breton, the young and then unknown commoner, is thrust aside to make place for the great Earl of Oxford, a Lord Chancellor, but of lesser degree, Sir Christopher Hatton, being at his tail, holding up the noble earl's train, perhaps. It reminds one of the musty old observation about thoughtless people, who attempt to stage *Hamlet,* forgetting to show spectators the lively presentment of the principal character in the tragedy.

The main difference between the story of the *Poesies* and the one found in *Avisa* is that the latter is the less cumbersome one. It took three men to make up one imposter in the former; in *Avisa* a handy man, one Hadrian Dorrell, suffices to do the whole bag of tricks himself. Here I will briefly put down what Dorrell says.

H. W., or, as he is sometimes called in *Avisa,* Henry Willobie, goes across the seas, on her Majesty's service, and before leaving England, entrusted the key of his study to Hadrian Dorrell, giving the latter permission to use his books, and have the free run of the place. Knowing that his studious young friend dabbled in writing verses, Dorrell ransacked the place for specimens of Willobie's muse, and found sufficient matter to make up a round volume. The *Avisa* poem was the piece that charmed Dorrell most, but there were other pretty conceits stored in the study that were not to be despised; and, though he was not quite sure that these latter were of Willobie's doing, to fill up some void space Dorrell appended them to *Avisa,* and ventured so far upon the author's friendship "as to publish it without his consent."

The singular thing about the two stories is that in describing the same matters they both use the selfsame words; but *Avisa*

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incorporates, with its repetitions of the Gascoigne work, borrowings from the epistle E. K. wrote to Gabriel Harvey, the same being printed in the front of Spenser's *Shepheards Calender*, 1579, a work laid under contribution in other parts of *Avisa*, as will appear presently. The parallels are so many that I have no space to deal with them, except with the following one, which has reference to the titles of the two works:

Avisa. I have christened it by the name of *Willoby his Avisa*, which accords with H. W.'s announcement *re* the *Posies:* And further have presumed of my selfe to christen it by the name of *A hundreth sundrie Flowers.*[5]

Dorrell states that *Avisa* was written "thirty and five years" prior to 1596, which is a playful piece of exaggeration, a more likely date for the first draught being about 1580, perhaps earlier. However that may be, it is morally certain that Henry Willobie could not have penned the poem originally, because he was but a youth in 1594, and had been got out of the way as an inconvenient "property" before Dorrell wrote his "Apologie," in 1596, his death being announced in it. The 1596 edition winds up with a long-winded poem, written especially to contradict, in express terms, statements the veracious editor had made in the 1594 issue. This long piece of humbug, written to fool readers, takes the form of a declaration, attested by witnesses. It recalls Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale,* where Autolycus vouches for the accuracy of his story of the fish that sang one of his ballads:

Dorcas. Is it true, think you?

Autol. Five justices' hands at it, and witnesses more than my pack will hold.

With regard to the name, Henry Willobie, it seems to be clear that in the older *Avisa* the young man was known only by his initials, H. W., a circumstance backed up by the revised poem, which more often indicates him by the letters of his name than by his full style. He very probably was "christened" Henry Willobie after Breton became acquainted with a youth in or about 1594, now identified with a Henry Willoby who matriculated as a commoner from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1591, his age then being 22. To help us in this difficulty it would be wise, I think, to take counsel of the eloquent and learned printer of the 1573 *Posies,*

[5] Cambs. ed., p. 490.

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who, anticipating trouble with readers about the initials of Master F. J., kindly soothes his patrons with the remark:

whome the reader may name Freeman Jones for the better understanding of the same.*

Apply this to the *Avisa* name, and the reason for giving H. W. a more sounding cognomen becomes easy of comprehension.

Before dropping *Avisa*, about which very much can be told, a few words concerning mots in it will not be out of place, because these little things, as used by Gascoigne, have of late been made the medium for an attempt to deprive the latter of much of his verse, and even to make it appear that he was a rogue, and tried to filch other men's productions. Those who have taken up this view assume as without question that authors' mottos were sacrosanct, and that their appearance in a work settled beyond controversy the parentage of the composition. Other men's mottos were not sacrosanct with Breton, as the following cases will show.

When Gascoigne overhauled Breton's edition of his poems, and reclaimed them as his own in the issue of 1575, he appended to "The Adventures of Master F. J." the posy, "Ever or Never," a motto that appears under nine other poems in his work. The pamphlet has no motto in the 1573 Q°, which, moreover, makes it apparent that G. T. [— Breton] had much to do with it, he probably being joint author with Gascoigne in putting it together. It is therefore all the more remarkable that this posy, "Ever or Never," is found appended to the end of *Willobie his Avisa*, and seemingly is intended to be the motto for the whole work, as printed in 1594. It might be thought at first sight that the motto in *Avisa* applies only to the old fourteener (another ancient performance of Breton's) that winds up the edition of 1594; but second thoughts, I think, will grant that the posy for the fourteener is, "I am content," its last words, which are printed in italics. Breton on other occasions is found making secret signatures in the texts of his productions, and in the same manner. The *Posies* is really a family book, and Breton helped Gascoigne to arrange it in the editions of 1575, and 1587, the latter, as I suppose, being overseen by Gascoigne before he died, in 1577. Where does the Earl of Oxford, or his train-bearer, Sir Christopher Hatton, come in here?

Again, to show that Breton did not regard these mottos as sacred

* *Posies*, Cambs. ed., p. 476.

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things, the peculiar property of persons who had used them before him, here are five more in *Willobie his Avisa,* the first four being copied by him from Spenser's *Shepheards Calender,* and the other from George Whetstone's *The Rocke of Regard,* 1576, where it acts as the motto for that section of his book that he calls "The Castle of Delight:"

> *Felice chi puo; Agitante calescimus illo, &c.;*
> *Inopem me copia fecit; Gia speme spenta;*
> *Il fine, fa il tutto.*

Another Gascoigne posy, said to be the peculiar and inalienable property of the Earl of Oxford, *Meritum petere, grave,* appears as an appendage to Sonnet 30 of the first section of *Alcilia,* 1595, still another unclaimed work of Breton's, in which he struts about as J. C., and Philoparthen.

I ought to have been able to say something here about Breton's ancient performance, *Penelope's Complaint,* 1596, a piece he dragged from among old bottles and boots that were rotted with mildew (*pace* Thomas Nashe) after lying in one of his disused cupboards for many years, using it merely to act as an advertisement for the forthcoming re-issue of *Willobie his Avisa,* but my space does not permit me to do so. Suffice it for the present to say, that Breton took most extraordinary pains to make his authorship of the work a matter absolutely beyond all question. In it he parades as Peter Colse, which, interpreted, is an imperfect anagram of the title of his poem.

That Gascoigne pardoned his son-in-law for the tricks played upon him in regard to the *Posies* seems evident, for he does not anywhere, when complaining of the trouble he had been put to in reclaiming and re-arranging his work, give the slightest hint as to the identity of the person who had dealt with it in such a strange and cheeky fashion. If the mischievous meddler had been an outsider, not one of his family circle, even if he had been a friend who served him thus, of high rank, like the Earl of Oxford, for instance, Gascoigne, who was one of the bravest of the brave, and had a hot temper withal, would quickly on his return to England have shown that there was sound truth at the bottom of his favourite posy, *Tam Marti, quàm Mercurio.* With Breton as the culprit we may suppose things would be viewed differently, and the best made of a bad job. That he forgave Breton, and appreciated his cleverness,

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seems certain from the story I am about to tell, which illustrates the adage, that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

One day, in 1576, Gascoigne made a call upon his friend, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a famous seaman and navigator, and half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, and whilst the two were conversing together, Gascoigne asked Sir Gilbert how he had been spending his leisure from service. The latter then took Gascoigne into his study, and showed him several exercises he had put together with his pen. One was a piece called, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new passage to Cataia.* This little exercise proved to treat of a subject that particularly interested Gascoigne, so without further ado he requested the author to permit him to take it away with him, to peruse it at his leisure. Sir Humphrey let him have the paper, though he had qualms about letting it go out of his hands, fearing that, contrary to his desire, it might by some mischance be put into print by some unscrupulous person. Having got possession of the *Discourse,* and liking the way in which it was penned, Gascoigne, without troubling to consult Sir Humphrey about the matter, had the "presumption" to cause it to be "registered in print."

The point to be noted about this tale is that it is told in the exact phraseology used in similar circumstances by Breton in regard to the surreptitious publication of the 1573 *Posies,* and by Hadrian Dorrell, when he tells his story concerning the unwarranted printing of H. W.'s *Avisa.* I can only conclude that Gascoigne, when playing false with Sir Humphrey Gilbert's work, had in mind the trick played upon him by his son-in-law; and that the latter was tickled when told about the incident, as it indicated to him that Gascoigne had imitated his own old hoax, observing the same tactics in accomplishing it. This view is warranted by a reference to Hadrian Dorrell's story, for *Avisa,* consciously or unconsciously, mingles the phrasing of the Gilbert tale with the narrative of the *Posies,* in its own story. I have already stated my belief that the *Posies* is in part the joint production of Breton and Gascoigne, that is to say, that the latter received much assistance from his son-in-law in arranging it, Breton also penning portions of it. Sometimes the prose of Gascoigne and of Breton is so much alike that it is impossible to distinguish between their hands; and this fact has led me to think that the latter acted as his father-in-law's secretary, and actually wrote things now credited entirely to Gas-

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coigne, who provided Breton with details to work upon. The address to readers fronting Gilbert's *Discourse* may be a specimen of this joint working, a supposition that has colour added to it by something I shall say presently. In 1576, although Gascoigne was in failing health, he yet contrived to keep printers very busy on work he was turning out. I cannot see how he could have done all this without assistance from Breton, who was living with him at the time, and, according to George Whetstone, actually dependent on his father-in-law.

I will now redeem my promise to say something more about Breton's signature, R. B., the one he used in *Greenes Funeralls,* and in *Orpheus his Journey to Hell,* 1595.

The latter long poem is another of the old, youthful exercises Breton retrieved from the cupboard that had harboured *Penelope's Complaint* so many years, both being partly eaten away by mice. Lady Penelope was made a little more presentable and pretty by remnants of finery found in the poems of Spenser and Samuel Daniel; and patchery to enable Orpheus to cut a decent appearance in the court of Pluto was supplied by the Induction and last scene of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie,* as well as by the opening stanza of *The Faerie Queene,* R. B.'s adaptation of the latter being followed, with the same changes of phraseology, in the Eclogue written by A. W. on Sidney, printed in Davison's *Rhapsody.* I mention this last bit of thievery from Spenser because Breton goes to it again in still another A. W. poem. Having served the purposes for which they were revived, both poems were put back in their old resting-place, and were forgotten.

Some tales could be told of Breton's drollery when fooling other folk to the top of their bents, the criticism of *Willobie his Avisa* by Peter Colse in *Penelope's Complaint* being quite comical. Colse was highly indignant that H. W. should have made an inn-keeper's daughter the model of all that is good and chaste in womankind; and, therefore, Penelope, an ancient and worn-out beauty, in old-time garments is brought on the stage to outface the young and comely Devonshire lass. In his reply, Hadrian Dorrell is justly angry that Colse, who is evidently a scholar, should offer such injury to his author, and then lashes him, bringing in a homily on virtue, in the peculiar dialect affected by tub-thumpers, and those solemn persons we often hear preaching damnation from the top of farm-carts. The point is that Peter Colse is Breton himself,

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and it was he who wrote *Avisa*. How he managed to reconcile his frauds on authors with pious references to Scripture is another matter, which seems to be solved by a certain writer, who tells us, "the devil can cite scripture for his purpose." And so in Toft's *Laura* the game of hide and seek is played over again, with variations, the printer delivering an oration to an audience that is to be gulled, and R. B., the wily and false broker, sneaking the while behind a half-closed door at the back, marking how the people take their medicine. In *Laura*, R. B. does not make himself known until the end of the work is reached, and then in a small voice he corroborates the statements of the printer. What he said in this back-door speech now demands some attention, because it has a bearing on Gascoigne's story anent Gilbert's *Discourse*.

Gascoigne says that Sir Humphrey feared to give him his work, lest by some chance, and without his knowledge and consent, it should slip into print. Compare this with R. B.'s words in *Laura*:

> Without the authors knowledge, as is before said by the printer, this poem is made thus publicly known; which, with my best endeavour, the gentleman [= author] himself, suspecting what is now proved too true, at my coming up, earnestly intreated me to prevent.[7]

Only an Oedipus could solve the riddle in these two statements, and that Oedipus is found in another printer, the A. B. of the 1573 *Posies*, who, when balancing the contradictory epistles of H. W. and G. T., in respect to the printing of Gascoigne's book, delivers himself thus:

> Now I feare very muche (all these words notwithstāding) that these two gentlemen were of one assent compact to have it imprinted.[8]

That means, as I take it, that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, despite his affected qualms, compacted with Gascoigne to "imprint" his *Discourse;* and it might be that the same inference may be drawn in reference to other works which were printed at Breton's instigation, in an apparently clandestine manner, the Shakespeare *Sonnets*, for example. But it hardly rings true when applied to the *Laura Sonnets*, because the betrayal of Toft is told in insolent terms, the author being treated as though he were a fool and a numskull.

This case of the *Laura Sonnets* enables one to sense how Breton

[7] Arber's *English Garner* (Old Series), VIII, 340.
[8] *Posies*, Cambs. ed., p. 476.

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dealt with printers and publishers to whom he gave works to be made public. The address to readers was draughted by Breton, who left a space for the printer to fill up with his signature. Valentine Simmes, the printer of *Laura,* did not take kindly to Breton's plan, he plainly scented trouble ahead, and did not wish to be mixed up in it. This is proved by his refusing to sign the document prepared by Breton, the same being without signature up to the present day. That same document repeats in a literal fashion a passage found in the W. H. dedication prefixed to Southwell's *A Foure-fold Meditation;* it reproduces exactly Breton phrasing used by the printer, Henry Disle, in his dedication of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* to Lord Compton; it has close relationship with Breton's own *A Young Man's Lesson, and a Young Man's Love,* and with *Willobie his Avisa;* and it tells the story of the trickery practised to obtain Toft's book in the very words employed by H. W., in the same circumstances, concerning Gascoigne's *Posies.* One parallel will suffice to show how Breton makes all these documents contaminate each other with kindred matter, expressed in the same terms.

Valentine Simmes is made to tell his tale thus, the other party concerned being R. B.:

> Only in this *I must confess* we are both to blame, that whereas he having promised to keep private *the original;* and I, the *copy* secret: we have both consented to send it abroad, as common; presuming upon your accustomed courtesies.[9]

> And herewithal my said friend charged me, that I should use them [= the poems] for mine owne particular commoditie, and eftsones deliver *the original copie* to him againe, wherein *I must confesse* my selfe but halfe a marchant, for the copie unto him I have safely redelivered. But the worke (for I thought it worthy to be published) I have entreated my friend A. B. to emprint.[10]

The scheme to print the absent author's work, without his consent, is practically the same in both these cases, the printer in each being made a party to the betrayal. In both works, too, the author's arrangement of his work is tampered with, and for the purpose of engrafting spurious matter on it. More than thirty sonnets, not by Toft, were foisted into his poem; and R. B., who tells the tale, says this was unwittingly done. For cheek it would be hard to

[9] Arber's *English Garner,* VIII, 271.
[10] *Posies,* Cambs. ed., p. 490.

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match his request to readers, to make a pleasant job for themselves by spotting out the spurious stuff, for he has no time to do it himself!

The introductory stanzas, addressed to the author's mistress are, I have no doubt, wholly forgeries; and it is somewhat odd that the following line in the opening one:

> I, weakling, seek an eagle's nest to climb,

should happen to chime in with the title of a poem that G. T., as he told his friend H. W., was anxious to lay hands on:

> The other of his owne invencion entituled. *The clyming of an Eagles neast.*[11]

The anthology of sonnets, named *Diana,* printed in a very mysterious fashion in 1594, would have been helpful to me in this place if it did not drag in the 1598 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia,* and other editions of the same work, in which Breton figures as H. S., and R. B. But *satis quod,* for *Laura* gives us a glimpse of how Breton worked the oracle when he handled the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare.

Just a few words more about R. B., and other signatures used by Breton, who had more names and letters for himself than the Great Turk could boast titles, and I will go back to *Greenes Funeralls.*

When one desires to obtain information as to why Breton had a preference for certain of his superscriptions, it is useful to consult that strange anthology of his, *A Post with a Packet of Mad Letters,* stated to have been written between 1603 and 1637, he being, of course, dead long before the latter date. (Fiction meets one at every turn in the writings of Breton!)

These letters are all of the author's own composition, and some of them have a metrical garb given them elsewhere in his works. They are supposed to have been penned by many people, but Breton reserves only twelve of them for himself. All the features of his other anthologies are embodied in this one; for, in addition to shouldering the letters on to strangers who did not write them, it is apparent there had been some juggling done with the signatures prior to publication, missives, addressed to particular persons, being answered by parties bearing quite different names. That is

[11] *Posies,* Cambs. ed., p. 491.

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exactly what obtains in Breton's other mixed collections: in them he claims only a few of his own contributions, and distributes the remainder among folk whom he fancied, or feigned, subsequently altering his mind to give them to new friends, or to creatures of his imagination. Matters being so, we ought, to make things square well, to find among the *Post* signatures some that do duty in his other anthologies. And we are not disappointed.

Five letters are subscribed R. B.; three are from A. B.; and H. W. writes three of them, himself receiving one from Breton, who styles him, "my dearest beloved friend on earth." With a twist of his wrist, so deftly performed that the sight of the trick would have made old Ambidexter turn green with envy, our Briareus changes his "dearest beloved friend on earth" into Lord W. H., himself, with like protean grace, becoming R. S., with the turning of the same hand. This latter superscription was one that Breton hugged to his bosom,—"a poor thing, sir, an ill-favoured thing, but mine own," his affection for it being so tender that he softly dandles it under five of his missives. The notable initials, A. W., which I have referred to as being used by Breton when praising his father-in-law's *Posies,* and when hiding himself from critics in Davison's *Rhapsody,* are subscribed to two of the *Post* missives. They are also found under verses of commendation in Timothy Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrams,* 1577, one of Breton's earliest anthologies, and one of the most dishonest books that was ever issued from any press. In 1596, A. W. praised Roger Cotton's *A Spirituall Song,* a most woeful performance, and so prosy, though written as verse, that it got on Breton's nerves, the result being that he calls the poor chap, in polite terms, an egregious ass, a creature that had but one talent,—his religious zeal. Four lines of doggerel, assigned to A. W. in Thomas Howell's *Devices,* 1581, attest Breton's ill luck, and lack of filthy lucre at that time, these giving us a hint for his adoption of the *nom-de-plume,* "My lucke is losse" in his anthology, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices,* 1576. He was the industrious bee, whose honey was filched from him by drones.

I have in another place mentioned that when writing verses of commendation for his friends, Breton rarely discloses his identity to readers; and that sometimes the same writers are praised by him under varied signatures. Several examples of this latter cus-

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tom of his could be cited. In 1576, he praised George Whetstone's *The Rocke of Regard* as Nicholas Bowyer, an imperfect anogram, as I have said before, of his own name, the same equivocal signature being made to dance the fox-trot above verses contributed to his father-in-law's *The Steele Glasse,* of the same year, his A. W. superscription, found in the *Posies* of 1575, being abandoned for a time. When he desired to give Whetstone a lift in 1586, he faced his audience demurely, as R. B. These latter verses are somewhat notable, but I have no space to describe their relationship with other parts of Breton's verse, nor shall I indicate here the source from which he borrowed most of them. The first four lines read thus:

To praise a thing, that no man can dispraise,
Approveth zeale, yet smally doth allure,
The Ivy bush, is but a needlesse gase,
Before the doore, whereas the wine is pure.

The English Myror.

The first line of the extract re-appears almost exactly in the Bowyer verses praising *The Rocke of Regard:*

To praise *the* thing that no man can dispraise.

The sentiment is tabled again, in a varied dress, in Breton's own *The Wil of Wit, &c.,* a work that was extant as early as 1582, thus:

I need not to commend the man,
Whom none can justly discommend.

Here I must interject the remark that these latter verses are left unsigned, and designedly so. Breton is hoaxing readers by making it appear that somebody else is commending his pamphlet. His tongue was in his cheek when he penned the lines, which reflect scorn on Fortune, rather than praise of himself. He has other hoaxing tributes elsewhere, notably in a poem, subscribed *Mira Guarda,* fronting his *The Pilgrimage to Paradise,* this latter being a bitter and insulting challenge to his enemies, and a commendation of his poem as well.

The new phraseology of *The Wil of Wit,* in company with the hoary proverbial saying concerning the ivy-bush and wine, which displays itself in the R. B. poem, are found in the verses of praise Breton contributed to Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* 1590, where he calls himself Ignoto:

To labour to commend a peece of worke,
Which no man goes about to discommend,

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> Would raise a jealous doubt, that there did lurke
> Some secret doubt whereto the prayse did tend:
> For when men know the goodness of the wyne,
> 'Tis needless for the Hoast to have a sygne.

Here I return to *Greenes Funeralls,* the composition of which is fixed as taking place some time between the 5th September, 1592, and the 26th of the same month, its author, R. B., being identified with Nicholas Breton.

At the time Harvey wrote his letter to Christopher Bird, he was lodging, with other writers, as a boarder with his printer, John Wolfe, whose wife did his mending, darning, and washing. He remained with the Wolfes for nine months, during the height of the plague that was then raging, in comfort, and living on credit. Nashe says he spent the whole of this time in villifying him, and in writing against Greene and others, taunting them with their poverty, and make-shift lives. At last Wolfe became impatient at Harvey's reluctance to dub up the browns, and intimated to him, in an ungentlemanly manner, that he must be paid what was owing, his house not being a charity organization affair. Things being so, Harvey thought it time to scoot, or, as the best poets put it, he decided to shoot the moon, and did so, leaving his lodging and commons unpaid for.

The fellow-lodgers of Harvey at this time were Barnabe Barnes, John Thorius, and Anthony Chute, to which list *Greenes Funeralls* adds Abraham Fraunce, omitting all reference, in a particular manner, to the two first-named authors. The tract nicknames Chute, Fraunce, and Harvey, and in two places it refers to Wolfe, or his company, as Fowle and Fowles, a perfect anagram of the printer's name. In Sonnet 4, the three authors are figured as Spenser figures the six evil counsellors of Lucifera in *The Faerie Queene,* I. iv., each coming in upon the stage mounted, the gluttony of the latter being evidently in R. B.'s mind when he was picturing Anthony Chute. The first figure in the procession is Edmund Spenser, who is called Colinet, the name he gives himself in *The Shepheards Calender,* "December":

> Hearken a while, from thy greene cabinet,
> The rurall song of carefull Colinet.

Here I quote the *Funeralls:*

> Come from the Muses well Minerva,
> Come and bring a Coronet:

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To crowne his head, that doth deserve,
A greater gift than Colinet.

It appears that before his death, Greene requested his landlady, Mistress Isam, to crown his dead body with a garland of bays, and that she did so. Harvey refers to this incident in his *Foure Letters,* and casts ridicule upon it. R. B. is here alluding to what Harvey told Bird, and it seems certain that he has coupled the story with the circumstance that in February, 1590(1), Spenser was practically made Poet-Laureate by the Queen's conferring upon him a pension of £50 a year. Hence, R. B.'s meaning is that Greene deserved the laurel crown more than Spenser, Minerva being probably a veiled allusion to Elizabeth.

The second stanza of the sonnet figures Anthony Chute:

Come from Bacchus bowre Silenus,
Come and bring some good-ale grout:
For to sprinckle Vino-plenus:
All his foolish face about.

Chute before his death became very corpulent; being a dropsical subject, his death resulting from the disease. Little is known of him outside Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron-Walden.* In Dr. McKerrow's *Works of Nashe* (III, 106, 35) the author has the following reference to him:

—of a youth that could not understand a word of *Latine,* hee lov'd lycoras, and drunke posset curd, the best that ever put cuppe to mouth.

We may assume that he is the Silenus of the stanza, and that he comes in riding upon an asse trapped with ivy, "upblowne with luxury," with "a bouzing can" in his hand, as in the picture of Gluttony drawn by Spenser.

Stanza 3 couples Thomas Watson and Abraham Fraunce:

Come thou hither sweete Amyntas
All on a silver sounding Swanne
Come and teach this fond A-mint-Asse,
Leave the game as hee began.

Here, as in other parts of the *Funeralls,* R. B. is making use of the rhetorical figure of Antonomasia, or, as Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie* [12] calls it, the "Surnamer," the authors being indicated by their compositions. Watson published his Latin poem of

[12] Arber, p. 192.

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Amyntas in 1585, and Abraham Fraunce, acting on his own responsibility, translated it into English, 1587, not naming his obligation to its author. In 1590, to prevent a repetition of the like fraud, Watson published his *Melibœus*, an Eclogue upon the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, in both Latin and English, making mention in his dedication of it to Lady Fraunces Sidney of the trick Fraunce played upon him. *Amyntas*, then, is Watson, and *A-Mint-Asse* is Fraunce, who is told, in effect, "that he played the fool with *Amyntas*," he should have left it as he found it, he being incompetent to do justice to Watson's fine poem. In Sonnet 8 of the *Funeralls*, Watson comes in again as *Meliboeus*, the figure of Antonomasia being employed again to indicate R. B.'s reference to him. In this latter sonnet is the appeal to the poet to come out boldly and stand up against Harvey, Greene's traducer. I will quote the lines here:

> And thou Shepheards Swaine, that keepes thy sheepe by the mountaines, (Mountaines) of Sicily, and sweet Arcadian Iland,
> Oh Meliboeus: leave, Oh leave any more to be mourning.
> For though his [= Greene's] Art bee dead, yet shall it ever abide:
> Ever abide to the end: light, as a light to the rest.

These words plainly mean that Watson was grieved at Greene's death, and R. B., using the poet's license, beseeches him to cease mourning for Walsingham, and write a similar funeral poem on the dead poet, whom Harvey and others are traducing. The appeal reminds one of verses written by Breton late in his life to William Browne, urging that poet to complete his *Britannia's Pastorals*, the same being found in manuscript inserted in a copy of the 1625 edition of the work. In this case, as in others which I have mentioned, Breton half disowns his poem by subscribing it B. N., instead of N. B. The idea of the shepherd, who keeps his sheep by the mountains, a figurative description often applied to poets by others, as well as by Breton, who uses it in many of his pastorals, appears in the verses in reference to Christopher Brooke, who contributed poems to Breton's anthologies:

> He and Cuddy [= Brooke] that blithe swain,
> Whose flocks feed on yonder plain, &.[18]

But the appeal to Watson to stand up for Greene is trumpeted more loudly in Sonnet 7, written in English hexameters of a very

[18] W. Browne's *Works* (Muses' Library), II, 12.

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peculiar cast. Many of the lines of this sonnet are designedly made to end with "Amintas," the effect being grotesque. For a parallel to it, we must go to Latin hexameters jokingly fathered on S. D. [= Samuel Daniel] in front of Breton's disowned poem, *Penelope's Complaint,* where the name "Avisa" appears at the close of lines in the selfsame manner. S. D. addresses the verses to Peter Colse, praising his performance, and deriding H. W.'s *Willobie his Avisa,* two whole cantos of which Breton foisted on to William Shakespeare! The appeal in this strange sonnet of the *Funeralls* is too open to need stressing, and that appeal is joined with a fierce and bitter attack on the Harveys.

The fourth stanza of Sonnet 4 brings in Gabriel Harvey, whom Spenser christened Hobbinoll in his *Shepheards Calender,* Harvey himself using the nickname under verses praising *The Faerie Queene:*

> Come thou hither my friend so pretty,
> All riding on a Hobby-Horse:
> Either make thy selfe more witty:
> Or againe renew thy force.

Harvey is again attacked under a perverted form of his nickname in Sonnet 5, where he appears as "Hodge-poke," but of that more presently.

Harvey was a spruce little fellow, vain of his personal appearance, and dapper to the extreme in the choice of his garments. The "friend so pretty," seems evidently to be a reference to gossip that had gone the rounds about him for several years, and it is likely that Breton and Nashe had gone over the story just before the sonnet was penned. Here I quote Nashe.[14]

The Queen paid a visit to Audley End in July, 1578, and was entertained there by the authorities of the various Colleges of Cambridge, one part of the programme being a disputation between a Mr. Fleming, on the one side, and Harvey, and two others, on the other. Nashe describes Harvey's part in the show in his *Foure Letters Confuted,* thus:

> The time was when this Timothie Tiptoes made a Latin Oration to her Majestie. Her Highnes as shee is unto all her subjects most gratious; so to schollers she is more loving and affable than any Prince under heaven. In which respect, of her owne vertue and not his desert, it pleased hir to

[14] *Works* (McKerrow), I, 276.

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humble the height of hir judgement, as to grace him a little whiles he was pronouncing, by these or such like tearmes. *Tis a good pretie fellow, a lookes like an Italian;* and after hee had concluded, to call him to Kisse her royall hand. Hereuppon hee goes home to his studie, all intraunced, and writes a whole volume of Verses; first *De vultu Itali*, of the countenance of the Italian; and then *De osculo manus*, of his Kissing the Queenes hande. Which two Latin Poems he publisht in a booke of his cald *Ædes Valdinenses*, proclaiming thereby (as it were to England, Fraunce, Italie, and Spaine) what favour hee was in with her Majestie.

Nashe goes back to this incident of the disputation again, in his *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*[15] and this time he pictures Harvey, as the *Funeralls* pictures him, prancing about on a hobby-horse, a detail that apparently establishes collusion with the tract, because Breton, when writing the sonnet was, I feel almost certain, imitating *The Faerie Queene,* in representing Wolfe's lodgers riding in procession, mounted. But let Nashe speak:

I have a tale at my tungs end, if I can happen uppon it, of his hobby-horse revelling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there: to which place Gabriell (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling it out, huffty-tuffty, in his suite of velvet.

Finally, this description of Harvey, in the last-named pamphlet: brings in the "pretty" once more:

For his stature, he is such another pretie Jacke a Lent as boyes throw at in the streete, and lookes, in his blacke sute of velvet, like one of these jeat droppes which divers weare at their eares in stead of a jewell.[16]

The foregoing will suffice to show that R. B. has drawn a portrait of Harvey in little, and has told him that his diatribe lacks wit, and is too dull to make an impression upon readers; "try again," he counsels him.

The whole sonnet is an expostulation, particularly addressed to Spenser, who is represented as the Pride of his own Lucifera story, the lodgers of Wolfe, mounted upon "unequall beasts," being the evil counsellors who drag his coach, and pander to the "wrong and tyrannie" he has encouraged them to practice on the dead poet.

Now I come to the printer, whose name is perfectly anagrammatised in two places, and made conspicuous by being printed in large romans, in a setting of italics, the anagram in one sonnet

[15] Works, III, 73.
[16] Works, III, 94.

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being made to pun with the adjective "foule," this latter word following the normal spelling of the time, thus:

> But let *FOWLES* and foolish fellowes,
> Barke and byte their belly fill.
>
> (Sonnet II)

> But by the sweete consent, of *PAN* and *MARSIAS* of springe.
> Sweet consent of a *SAINT* so sweet, of a *Fowle* and a *foule* one
> Greenes but a foolish man: and such as him doe defend,
> Yet will I ever write both to defend and offend:
> For to defend his friends, and to offend his foes.
>
> (Sonnet VIII)

Here Spenser, the "Saint," is represented as the countenancer of Harvey, who is the "foule one," the name of Wolfe being used to cover him. The device of identifying an author with his works is used again, for "Pan" means Spenser's *The Shepheards Calender,* and "Marsias ofspringe" stands for *The Faerie Queene.* In the opening stanza of the first canto of *Willobie his Avisa,* Breton resorts to this device once more, the following lines being a covert allusion to Spenser's two great poems:

> Let martial men, of Mars his praise,
> Sound warlike trump: . . .
> Let sheepeheards sing, their sheepe coates ruth.

The author plainly tells Spenser he is associating with blackguards; and, though he is anxious to be his friend still, yet, if he persists in countenancing the "foule" Harvey crew, it being a matter of choice, he prefers to lose his friendship, rather than stand by and see Greene traduced. This interpretation is helped out by sonnet 7, where Harvey and his fellows, who wrote against Greene, are referred to as

> base beggarly make-bookes
> That in veigh against the dead, like deadly maligners,

the author adding, in allusion to Spenser,

> Yet it ill became sweete mindes to haunt in Avernus,

that is, to dwell with those who "barke at a poore silly carcas."

Sonnet 10 is wholly devoted to the mention of books that Greene had written: it is headed, "A Catologue of certaine of his bookes." This Odyssey-like sonnet is necessarily dry-as-dust stuff, for it

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requires a pen like Homer's to make such matter lively; but, nevertheless, the presence of it in the tract betrays, or helps to betray its author. When Spenser died, Breton wrote a poem on him, printed in his *Melancholike Humours,* 1600. It is headed, "An Epitaph upon Poet Spenser," and three stanzas of it are taken up with a catalogue of the dead author's writings, after the manner of the *Greenes Funeralls* sonnet.

Concluding, I must make some mention of R. B.'s indictment in Sonnet 9, of writers that mounted to fame upon Greene's book, by availing themselves unscrupulously of portions of his writings:

> **Nay more the men, that so Eclipst his fame:**
> **Purloynde his Plumes, can they deny the same?**

Those lines, I have no doubt whatever, were suggested to R. B. by what Greene says of Shakespeare and others in his *Groatsworth of Wit,* in which the robbers are referred to as "those Anticks garnisht in our colours," Shakespeare being the "upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers." My contention is that Breton read Greene's tract before he gave it to Henry Chettle to prepare for the press.

Next, there is Sonnet 12 of the *Funeralls* to be noticed, this portion of the tract being a prayer for Greene's soul, written in the very style and method of the prayer in *Greenes Repentance,* which Greene is said to have uttered when dying. The likeness between the two prayers is so similar that the late Mr. Churton Collins said one was a translation of the other.

This brings us to the addresses to readers in *Greenes Repentance* and *Greenes Funeralls.* Danter, who signs the latter document, did not write it, it being in Breton's peculiar prose, the humbugging statement,

> **Which contrarie to the Authours expectation I have now published, for it was his private study at idle times,**

being old news, repeated in the same words in similar documents that Breton caused printers to sign. The address in *The Repentance* is the one that need only now be used to illustrate the prayer in the *Funeralls:*

> **Father of Heaven, for thy mercies meekenes,**
> **And thy sweete Sonnes sake, Christ the redeemer,**
> **Pardon, Oh pardon, sinfull offender,**
> **Lord I beseech him.**

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And though his age, here on earth were a loathsome
Puddle of filthynes, inly polluted,
With all abuse, that can be devised,
Yet was his ending;

Ending a myrrour, of a man molested,
One over-whelmed with his iniquities,
And to be holpen alone by the Jesus
Saviour of all men.

The man who wrote that sonnet penned the address to readers in *The Repentance,* which the printer, Cuthbert Burbie signs. Here I cite the latter, who mimics Breton's language and manner all through, like a parrot would do:

—although his loose life was odious to God and offensive to men, yet forasmuch as at his last end he found it most grievous to himselfe (as appeareth by this his repentant discourse), I doubt not but he shall for the same deserve favour both of God and man.

The question as to the ability of printers, publishers, and others, to write themselves the matter they signed, does not arise, for I do not pretend that some of the documents could not have been penned by these persons, my contention, founded on a minute comparison of the said documents with each other and with the writings of Nicholas Breton being, that the latter, who meddled in all things, wrote them to save the subscribers trouble, and draughted them to suit the particular needs of the works in which they are found.

London.

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NOTES ON BRIAN MELBANCKE'S *PHILOTIMUS*

By Hyder E. Rollins

Philotimus, an early euphuistic novel published in 1583, has attracted almost no attention, Jusserand, in his *English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare,* for example, dismissing it in a foot-note.[1] Yet the book has very many points of interest.

The title-page, enclosed in an ornamental border, runs as follows:

Philotimus. / *THE WARRE* / betwixt Nature and / *Fortune.* / Compiled by Brian Melbancke / *Student in Graies Inne.* / *Palladi.* / *Fortuna virtutis famula.* / ¶ Imprinted at London by / *Roger Warde, dwelling* / *neere vnto Holborne Conduit at* / the Signe of the Talbot. / 1583./

Collation: 4°, sigs. [A⁴]; A-Z⁴, Aa-Ff⁴.

At least three copies are extant, one each in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Huntington Library.

The dedication, dated November 28 (1583), reads: "To the right honorable, Phillip, Earle of *Arundell,* Brian Melbancke *wisheth increase of honour, with the full fruition of perfect felicitie.*" Following, with the same date, is an epistle "To The VVorshipfvl *and my very frends, the Gentlemen Students in the Innes of Court and Chauncerie,* and the vniuersitie of Cambridge." In this Melbancke informs the members of Gray's Inn that "I may ere I die be a Soliciter in your law", and the members of the university that he "vvas sometime a Scholler amongst you (with what credite I know not, but sure I am in more then euer hee deserued." Apparently no record exists of his admission to Gray's Inn, but he was a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, securing the degree of B. A. in 1579.[2]

Melbancke evidently wrote his novel immediately after he left Cambridge and after he had read Lyly's *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and his England* (1580). In his epistle

[1] It is briefly noticed in *The British Bibliographer,* II, 438-447, and under Melbancke's name in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] *Athenae Cantabrigienses,* I (1858), 490. His "ordo senioritatis," 1579-1580, was fifth (III, 103). See also John Venn's *Grace Book Δ Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542-1589* (1910), p. 328.

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he complains of the delays (the like of which are not unknown to-day) in printing the book: "Credite me Gentlemen, (I knowe not by what haps, mishaps I shoulde say) *Phylotimus* hath beene longer in publishing then in compiling, and lesse time in penning then in printing." He reveals considerable nervousness, too, about his style, realizing that, in spite of his proverbs, his natural-history references, and his attempts at balance and antithesis, he had failed accurately to imitate Lyly. Hence he admits, "I haue not kept one vniforme maner of style"; and, though he is generally known by his college friends to have "some small skill in other languages," his "Kingdome neuer consisted in the English tongue." He apologizes, also, for "my obscuritie, vvherevvith I haue endarkened my style," in defence citing Aristotle, "vvho vvrit his Physicks in so intricate a style, because he vvoulde not vouchsafe euery refuse Coridon the imparture of his mysteries." The excuse hardly seems legitimate for a work of fiction. More appropriate are Melbancke's comments on his outlandish and archaic expressions: "If I haue vsed any rare and obsolete vvords, they are eyther such as the Coryphees of our English vvriters, *Chaucer* and *Lidgate,* haue vsed before me, and novv are decayed for vvant of practise." But even his diction sounds less like Chaucer and Lydgate than like Stanyhurst.

Philotimus was, so we infer, the amusement of idle hours, and a serious work was designed to follow it. "It may be Gentlemen," Melbancke writes, "that my english Tables of all *Arist* [Aristotle's] vvorkes (vvhich some of you haue too long expected) shall shortly make you amends." But that project, as well as the sequel to *Philotimus,* evidently never materialized. A final preliminary address, by "George Wastnes Esquire, in commendation of the Author," calls Melbancke "my dearest swetest frend," "my sugred darling boy," expresses astonishment that one so young should be so learned, and queries,

> **What learned age with ours once dare compare,**
> **Since Melbancke liues, whose learning is so rare?**

Unfortunately, the rare learning of the precocious youth turns out in many cases to be nothing but quotation.

The novel begins with "An Interlocution of two distressed wightes, whereof the one [Pandolpho] more hardy, harteneth his

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fellow [Periander]." To hearten his weaker companion, Pandolpho then tells him the story of *Philotimus*.

Cleocritus, "the cheef-taine and gouernor" of Mantua, married Castibula, daughter of the Duke of Bononia. After five years of childlessness, they became "meruailous fertyle" to the extent of twelve children. The eldest, Philotimus, was "ye *gaze* at which all eyes did spye." When he had attained the age of sixteen, he was harangued at great length by Cleocritus on the relative advantages and disadvantages of an immediate marriage or a university career. To this harangue he replied at equal length, choosing the university; for he believed with Aristotle "that men should liue sole, till thirtye seauen yeares, and women till 18."[8] In spite of this chaste resolve, Philotimus first goes to see his mistress Aurelia, who is apparently devoted to him, and with whom he passes his last night in Mantua. The conduct of the lovers is evidently described in imitation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.

The next morning Philotimus sets out with his boyhood friend Aemilius and others for "their wished Vniuersitie," whiling away the journey with pedantic discussions of abstractions. Once enrolled as a student, he "was as industrious, as if his liuinge had layd on his Learning. . . . In all points of learning *Philotimus* was commended, in all comparisons *Philotimus* excepted."

Meanwhile distressing events had occurred in Mantua. Ten of Philotimus's brothers and sisters died, leaving only one sister, Fulvia, alive. Necessarily he abandons the university to hurry back home. But troubles increase. The villainous Telamon, although a life-long friend of Cleocritus, makes lewd proposals to Castibula; and, finding her obdurate, hires "2. cutthroat vacabonds for a 1000 crownes" to waylay and murder the unsuspecting husband. Castibula, like Camma of old (whose story Melbancke must have followed), then agrees to marry Telamon, only to drink at the wedding feast of a poison cup which she likewise gives to him.

With the death of these two, Fulvia and Philotimus come into the possession of considerable property, and Fulvia marries Aemilius. Philotimus, "hauking after honour, and desirous to liue with *Aurelia*," follows the latter to a city near by, where she is maid of

[8] Cf. Edmund Tilney, *The Flower of Friendship*, 1571, B3v: "*Liourgus* lawe was amongest the *Lacedemonians*, that the men shoulde not marry, before thirtie, and seauen yeres of age, and women at eyghtene."

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honor to the Duchess. For a time Aurelia treats him graciously. Then "one *Cornelius* a stale hacking Courtier, who had long fed his fancie on *Aureliaes* well thewed shape, but hitherto had bare cõmons, for that *Philotimus* had wiped all the fat from his bearde, gubd *Aurelia* with golde to make his fare better," and displaced Philotimus entirely. This triangle calls forth many letters, which become more and more contemptuous as time goes by; others pass between Cornelius and his jilted sweetheart Laida. To excuse themselves for their own faithlessness, Cornelius and Aurelia accuse Philotimus "of trecheries, of coosenage, of euerye villanie"; and, as his fortune is now dissipated, the charges meet with ready belief.

Deserted by all his friends, Philotimus writes for aid to his brother-in-law Aemilius, who in a euphuistic letter refuses it. Next he tries "an olde companion of his in the Court," Erogazus, with a like result. After much moralizing on fickle friends and fickle fortune, Philotimus challenges Cornelius to a duel, but the latter ("one belike conceyued in ignoraunce, and begotten when his father was a little scared") ridicules and rejects the challenge. Happily, "*Archaretos* who had often sought for *Philotimus* his frendship in his prosperitie, and still was set at naught of the coy *Philotimus*," unexpectedly writes to offer friendship and aid. The two meet at the village of Merio, where Archaretos advises his unlucky friend "to seeke a mantion in some other soyle" and promises to "ayd thee with necessaries." Hence Philotimus goes "towardes the borders of *Græce*," but is stripped of his money by robbers, so that "hee was vrged to relieue his greedy hunger with the wild fruites of the wildernes, and to take vp his lodging in some secrete caue or vault, or amid some shrowding shrubs, or vnder some tree."

A robber-captain, Toxilus, tries to enlist Philotimus in his band; but that unlucky boy refuses indignantly, and goes into "a valley thicke with Pineapple & Cipresse trees" to lament his misfortunes. There Laurus, an aged shepherd, "sittinge vnder a pineapple tree, was reading on an old motheaten booke." To him Philotimus relates his woes. Laurus retaliates with a history of his own life, tells of the joy he has found in the simple cares of sheep-herding, and invites Philotimus to share them. Philotimus prefers, however, to be directed to some "Court nere at hande." Laurus tells him of a prince almost as famous as Queen Elizabeth—at least "in the *Positiue* degree of her *Superlatiue*"—and helps him to meet the

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Prince next day as the latter is hunting. "The Prince immediately . . . commaunded *Philotimus* to be sworne his seruant, and willed him with the rest to attend vpon him to the Court."

At this point the novel ends. There is a brief epilogue in which Periander expresses a wish to hear more of Philotimus, and Pandolpho promises that "We will reade out the reste some other faire day when thou and I shall meete." Evidently Melbancke had planned a sequel, but there is nothing to show that he wrote and published it. Nevertheless this first instalment has a better and a more interesting plot than either of Lyly's novels.

Philotimus is a happy hunting-ground for collectors of proverbs, although it has as yet escaped notice. I give the following examples merely for purposes of illustration:

a horse may be brought to the brooke, but will not drinke except he list (B4v).

It is ill waking a sleeping dog (B4v).

not once slippe aside, for feare of *Had I wist* proue a foole (C2v).

touch ye pitch neuer so softly & it will defile thee (C3).

cõmonly they haue two faces for one hoode (C4v).

Yt is well therefore to make hay while the sunne shines (C4v).

Better be wise by other mens harmes, then rue your follye by your owne hurt (D3v).

he is to busye, that hath an ore stirringe in other mens boates (E).

we must . . . not leape ouer the stile, before we come at it (Ev).

Your late compacted iourney, was not so smothered in hugger mugger, but that I had a litle bird, that brought me newes of it (F3v).

why doe we recken our chickens before they be hatcht (G2v).

When hoofe is hole, the hackney still is hyred (G4).

Hungry dogges eate durtye puddinges (H4v).

her brethren, as the harme of mishap would, tooke hime napping as *Moss* did his mare (I3v).

many things ar betwene the cup and the lip (I4v).

oue [one] bushe saith the Prouerbe, can not harbour two Robin redbrestes (L4v).

better a liue dogge, then a dead Lion (O4).

The Cat would licke milke, but she will not wette her feete (Q).

there bee more maids then *Maukin* (S2).

thou canst not or wilt not see wood for trees (S2v).

when she see him started from his hartes foredelight, . . . she set the hares head to the goose giblings, and Spanyerdlike was as careles as he (X).[4]

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[4] Cf. Thomas Norton, *Orations, of Arsanes*, B7 (*ca.* 1560): "let vs set the Hares head against the Gooses giblet."

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Soone ripe, soone rotten: quickly spent, thats easely gotten (V2v).

True is the Prouerbe, saue a Thiefe from the gallowes and he will be the firste shall doe thee a mischiefe (X4v).

When a mans hose be downe, it is easie to kisse him where he sat on *Saterday* (Y).

It is inough to point to the strawe where the pad lurkes (Y2v).

It is a Prouerbe in *Englande* that the men of *Tiuidal* borderers on ye english midle marches, haue likers, lemmōs, and lyerbies (Aa2v-Aa3).

thou maist know, that a worme trod on will turne rgaine [*sic*], & that the chips of the tree, which thou wouldst hew downe, may flye in thy face (Bb3).

all the world is of otemeale, and my poke left at home (Cc2).

But wit bought with the price of woe, is a litle to deare. Better be wise by other mens harmes, then rue your follye by your owne hurt (D3v).

I will bee as true to thee as the begger to his dishe (Ee).

I hope thou shalt eat of the goose that shall tread on her graue (Ee2).

muche water passeth besides the mill that the milner seeth not (Ee3).

Curious words and phrases abound, some of them not given in the *New English Dictionary,* some earlier than any example there cited. The following, chosen purely at random, will suffice for purposes of illustration:—

A *Gorgon* like clowne he is to seet oo [*sic*], with gourdy gutts, & a graund-liricompaunch (C3v).

hee [Pompey] had scarce Iacke drummers enterteynement, for Iacke was shut out withouten harme, but *Pompey* was cut shorter by ye head thē he was (Dv-D2).

friday faced scoulds (D4v).

Two trees rampant, with a tree iacant, and a knaue pendant, in a greene feild, is the badge of a younger brother (F4).

thou canst so portcolize thy faults, that if they be blacke, they are engrayled with blew (F4).

some odde foolish crankatiue conceited humour (H2v).

Thy Argumentes are drawne from the disport called *Ho penni ho,* wherin all must say as one saith, & do as he doth, for all thy confirmation is but an an [*sic*] exhortation to frame an imitation to other mens liking (L2).

poore vnbegotten wetherbeaten *Qualto,* an Hobhansom man god wot, & a bow wow to his Lady & mistrisse, seruing a Lady in *Italy* as a Tom drudge of the pudding house (R3).

Philotimus . . . writ presently without pausinge to his pretie paunce (T2).

Nick Noddie hath the lucke, when *Welladay Wit* liues in lacke (V4).

you are a swete nutt, the Deuill cracke you (X3).

he with powting, and she with flowting, incensed manye a knarrie iarre (X4).

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impannell an inqueste of *Russet coat Robbins*, let *Cautle Subteltie* be the foreman, & *Summum ius* the Iudge, and *Cuthbert* the cutthroat commense his action (X4v).

I haue fed these clammed michers (Y).

a shifting shoo of an Irish Hobbie (Y2).

This is like Gentlemen in our daies, who will bee cozins to all of any port or great report in the whole shire, though their gransires dog scarse leapt ouer their grandames hatch (Aa2).

No feete shall be my fence, nor feare your kilkow chat (Bb3v).

whose cholericke garboyle pipkius [pipkins] full of purging drugges, can neither quench nor quell (Bb3v).

Hector at length . . . paide him home with heaue and how (Bb4).

Will the lustie Ship with top and top gallant, all fleeting away with fianta galanta, vaile bonnet to the boate so farre vnderneath her (Ff2v).

Literary references of various types add interest to the book. Two stories, for example, are borrowed from Boccaccio, perhaps from *A pleasaunt disport of diuers Noble Personages. Written in Italian by M. Iohn Bocace Florentine and Poet Laureat: in his Boke vvhich is entituled Philocopo. And nowe Englished by H. G.* (1567). The first of these is the story of the young man who was surprised in the company of his young and beautiful mistress by her brothers, and was by them condemned to the punishment of living for one year with a villainous old hag, for another with their sister, the choice being left to him as to which mistress he shall choose first. In Boccaccio's twelfth "Question" it is decided that, because of the uncertainty of the future, the man will do well to begin with the young mistress. Melbancke summarizes the "Question" on signature I3v, calling it merely "a certeyne Italian historie."

The second borrowing (O4v-P) is the story of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale:* the story of the chaste wife, Lady Thiametta, who agreed to grant her love to a lewd suitor if he would perform the supposedly impossible task of making a garden bloom in January; of how, after this condition had been fulfilled by the aid of a magician, she determined, and was supported by her husband, to keep her promise; and of how the suitor then refused to hold her to it. Boccaccio retold this tale in the *Decameron* (X. 5), where the lady is called Dianora; in the *Philocopo* (or *Filocolo*) she is nameless, so that Melbancke's "Thiametta" must come from the "queen" who presides over the tale-tellers in that book.[5]

[5] Cf. Emil Koeppel, *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle in*

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On signature Y3^{v} he refers to the "Tuscan youth" [6] of Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity*, which was available in English as well as in Italian:

As ye yongman *Tuscus*, by *Petrarches* report, seing his feature, as it were a lawnd for beawties bloudhounds there to draw, which was perillous for his credit, and daungerous for their safetie, thinking rather to make griefe of his gaine, thē that should hurt any, which could helpe none, all to gashed his face with voluntary knockes, to deforme himselfe, and defraude them.

Popular literature, as represented by the jest-books, made an especial appeal to the young novelist. Thus he tells of a poor farmer, Conon, who gave a single rape to King Lodowick of France. The king rewarded Conon, and placed the rape carefully among his jewels. An observant courtier, thinking to gain a proportionate reward, presented a horse to the king, but to his dismay received from the royal jewel-box only the rape. The names used by Melbancke suggest that he borrowed the anecdote from Lodovico Domenichi's *Facetie, Motti, & Burle* (1581).[7] Reference is also made to Theagenes and Chariclea, the leading characters in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus (03). The *Jests* of Scoggin are twice mentioned: "turne that to scoffing vvhich vvas made for no Skoggins" (A4); "hee might seeke bothe where they were and were not, (as *Skoggin* did the hare)." [8]

The following passages, some of them from sources unknown to me, also deserve particularizing:—

as books make mention of *S. Beda* his boy, who made his blind master preach to stones for a pastime (B4^{v}).

I am content to do with thee, as Kinge *Henry* the 8. of that name in

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der Englischen Litteratur, pp. 59-60 (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker*, LXX, 1892).

[6] I. e., Spurina, on whom see my edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, pp. 59-60, 222-223; Henry Parker, Lord Morley's translation of Petrarch's *Triumphs* was published about 1565.

[7] Pp. 153-154. As Koeppel, *op. cit.*, shows, the story is also told of other personages in Geraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, VI. 9; *Pasquil's Jests*, 1604 (Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, III [1864], 51-52, 2d pagination); and *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres*, 1567 (Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, I, 34-36, 2nd pagination).

[8] See *The First and Best Part of Scoggins Jests*, 1626 (Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, II, 123-126).

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England, did with a Bishop of *Canterbury*, that is, make you commissioner in your owne cause (B4v).

thinking he had got a goodly yong heafer, it was nothing but ye deuill in a cowes hyde, as *Richard Farneyeares* sonne was once beguiled (C).

Stratonicus neuer wente to bed wtout his liuery, (yt is a cup of beare standing by him) . . . mistrusting least he should thirst (C).

[The price of cloth is] other wise then it was in ye second King *Richards* time kinge of *Britteine*, who calling for a paire of hose of the brauest fashion and most sumptuous to put on that day, asked what they cost: one toulde him forty pence, go quoth he, and fetch me a payre of a marcke (C4v).

Indeed euery thing hath a beginning (as the parasite told his maister, which said he toke his seruaunt for no liar, and now had fonnd it contrary) (Ev).

A ship cannot surely sayle without an helme, nor any fly without naturall winges: which *Bladud* kinge of *England* aduenturing to doe by art, brake his necke. So did the men of *Gotam* tye their rentes in a purse about an hares necke, and bad her carrie it to their Landlord: how well they were serued, I cannot but smile to thinke, neither at that, but at their follies (Ev).

[Bladud, mythical king of England and father of Lear, is met with in the chronicles and in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. For the second anecdote see *The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gottam*, 1630, tale 8 (ed. Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, III, 10-11).]

He that bestowes rewards to insinuate himself into frendship, is like *Bath-kepers* asse, that brought his master fewell home to make fires, and he himself liued with smell of the smoake (E2v).

[Borrowed from Stephen Gosson's *A Short Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, ed. Arber, p. 72.]

Nowe *Priams* sone giue place, thy *helens* hew is stainde, *O Troylus* weepe no more, faire *Cressed* thyne is lothlye fowle. Nor *Hercules* thou haste cause to vaunt for thy swete *Omphale*, nor *Romeo* thou hast cause to weepe for *Iuliets* losse, if euer *Aurelia* had saluted your sight (G3-G3v).

thou arte moste like *Will Summer*, which being hurte with anye, thoughe he stoode a Furlonge of him, woulde alwayes strike his nexte fellowe (Lv).

[This is a favorite story in the sixteenth century and later. Perhaps Melbancke took it from Sir Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus* (*Whole Works*, ed. Giles, II, 39): "not much unlike in this point to Will Somer the king his fool, which smiteth him that standeth always before his face, be he neuer so worshipful a man, and never greatly looks for him which lurks behind another man's back, that hurt him indeed." Cf. also *Knaves and Fooles in*

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Folio, 1649, p. 10: "I will not (*Will: Somers*-like) strike my next man or any, much lesse *my Lord and King the Kingdome.*"]

This followes as well as that in *Beuis* of *Hampton: Some lost a nose, and some their lip, and the king of Scots hath a ship* (L2).

[See McKerrow's Nashe, I, 26, IV, 26.]

Clitipho . . . began a tale of *Iack a naule.*

It was an halt King, and a blind Queene, and they got a lame sonne, and he would goe to the nine endes of the world to seeke his fortune, & whē he was there, he was there, he met with a pilgrim, God geue you good euen, which is the way to *Poclinton*, a pokefull of plummes, he clamb vp into a Thistle tree, and cut downe a Hasyll twigge, and broke his heade till it was whole, and when he came home, he was as wise as a Woodcocke (L3).

showe such fidelytye in thy demeanour, as sometime one *Alexander* did to his frende: who lyinge in naked bed with his frends wife, and by his frends graunt, laide a naked sworde betwyxte them to keepe them asunder (O3).

[This reference to the romantic tale of Alexander and Lodowick may have come from Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governor*, 1570 (ed. Croft, II, 133), or the *Decameron*, X. 8. A ballad on this subject had been licensed at Stationers' Hall in 1569-70 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2760), and another, dating about 1590, was written by Thomas Deloney (*Works*, ed. F. O. Mann, p. 338). Alexander and Lodowick are the Elizabethan equivalents of Amis and Amiloun, heroes of an old romance of that name.]

This is worse then war knaue quoth *Tomkins* to his shadow: for he seing his shadowe in the nighte, tooke it for one that came to spoile him, to whom, knauing it, and slauing it, hee gaue many a good bang (R^{v}).

I would chuse the litle dapper *Dick*, take *Robbin Hood* who list, let me haue *litle Iohn* (V2^{v}).

these forward youthes (and too forward saith M. *Askam*) neuer proue old men (V2^{v}).

[See *The Schoolmaster* (*Whole Works*, ed. Giles, III, 98-99), where in the course of a long discussion Ascham says, "And yet few of them come to any great age, by reason of their misordered life when they were young."]

But the most remarkable feature of Melbancke's book is its astonishing borrowings from poems, all printed in the form of prose and helping to carry forward the narrative. In editing *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*[9] I pointed out numerous cases in which the 1580 edition of that miscellany was pilfered from. One further passage may be instanced. On signatures Ff-Ff^{v} the shepherd Laurus says to Philotimus:

[9] Harvard University Press, 1927, pp. 191, 203, 217, 251, 267.

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Nay, *Diana* in her trayninge chase delightes, *Minerua* in her chattering armes doeth march, *Apollo* in his siluer-sounding cordes disportes, yet none of these are my content. The fragrant fieldes, the rurall lawnes, where *Zephyrus* inspires the fruitfull earth, and doeth attire eache bushe with budde and bloomie braunch, where the purple Columbine, and the orient cowsloppe, the daffadillie and the pretie lillie, the dazie and the violet, do may [*sic*] in aray, shalbe my pallace and my paradise.

This is an expansion and a combination of lines from three separate poems in the *Paradise:* [10]

> *Diana* with her training chase, of hunting had delight . . .
> *Minerua* in her chattering armes her courage doth aduaunce . . .
> The siluer sound of musickes cordes, doth please *Apollos* wit.

In spring, though pleasant *Zephirus*, hath frutefull earth inspired,
And nature hath each bushe, each branch, with blossomes braue attired.

> The purple Columbine, the Cousloppe and the Lillie,
> The Violet sweete, the Daizie and Daffadillie.

Equally striking and bare-faced are the borrowings from Tottel's *Miscellany.*[11] They are enumerated below, the references being to pages and lines of my edition: [12]

thus did hee seeme to bee conueyde: in shipe fraught with remembraunce of pleasure past, with scaldinge sighes for want of gale, and stedfast hope that was his sayle (H2v).

> In ship, freight with remembrance
> Of thoughts, and pleasures past,
> He sailes that hath in gouernance
> My life, while it wil last:
> With scalding sighes, for lack of gale,
> Furdering his hope, that is his sail (15.14-19).

Dame Nature howles and weepes bycause the moulde that cast her shape is lost and gone, nor euer can the like be framed againe (Hv).

This conceit is a favorite of Tottel's *Miscellany*, occurring at 19.40 ff., 28.34, 126.23, 155.38 f. Perhaps Melbancke borrowed it from the first of these passages:

> I coulde rehearse, if that I wolde,
> The whole effect of natures plaint,
> When she had lost the perfit mold,
> The like to whom she could not paint.

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[10] Pp. 36, 41, 42.

[11] From this book also came the version of "Death is a Porte" cited in my edition of the *Paradise*, p. 217.

[12] Harvard University Press, 1928.

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to see youth hang vp ye bitt of wanton tyme, not like ye foolish larke, deceiued with swetnes of ye call (E4v).

Hang vp therfore the bit of thy yong wanton tyme (30. 12).

Deceiued is the birde by swetenesse of the call (157. 9).

Ah deare *Aurelia*, my power is too weake to make any warre, and yet I can find no peace, I am not scorcht with any fire, and yet no cold adawes my heate (S3v).

I Find no peace, and all my warre is done:
I feare, and hope: I burne, and frese like yse (37. 35-36).

Disdaine me not without desert, nor leaue me not so sodeinly, so do the stony rocks repulse the waues that rush them violently (C2v).

Disdaine me not without desert:
Nor leaue me not so sodenly (56. 33-34).
The rockes do not so cruelly
Repulse the waues continually (62. 28-29).

Neither would I haue thee a drone to eate the swete that others sweat for, that yu eate ye hony, and they hould the hyue, they drawe yu driue (D2).

They eat the hony, I hold the hyue (59. 29, and compare the *Paradise*, p. 86).

As to bee hearde where eares are none, or Lead to be grauen in Marble stone, so harde it is to heare counsell of you, which may accorde with any good (Yv).

As to be heard where eare is none:
As lead to graue in marble stone:
My song may pearse her hart as sone (62. 23-25).

Goe burning sighes vnto their frozen hartes, goe breake the yse with pitties painefull dartes; and when they are within thy reach, giue them the cup of bitter sweete, to pledg their mortall foe (Y2).

Go burning sighes vnto the frosen hart,
Go breake the yse which pities painfull dart (71. 9-10).
I saw also, how that disdayn oft times to forge my wo,
Gaue me the cup of bitter swete, to pledge my mortall fo (132. 7-8).

One goinge about his busines with an haulter in his hand, chaunced to finde monye which a miser had hid, which money he tooke, aud [*sic*] layde downe the haulter in the place: the olde huddle missing his monye at his next visitation, toke the haulter and hanged himselfe (E3v).

Probably borrowed from Wyatt's "Against hourders of money" (79. 29), although the story does occur, to be sure, in many other places.

Thou seest how *Stedfastnes* doth fly wt winges of often chaūg, a flying birde, but seldome seene, her nature is so straung (D2).

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I saw, how stedfastnesse did fly with winges of often change:
A fleyng birde, but seldom seen, her nature is so strange (132. 15-16).

Thus when with fained tunes she hath chirpt her yelden laies, and perceiues that fauning can force no fancie, she will assay an other way to slap the in the mouth with flimflam floutes, to dash the out of countenaunce, As that for one: It is no fyre that giues no heate, though it appeare neuer so hotte, and they that runne and cannot sweate, are very drye and leane godwot: but since I lende my loue to losse, fancy (saith she) farewell, adue dastarde (C2v).

Lyke as the lark within the marlians foote
With piteous tunes doth chirp her yelden lay (126. 26-27).[18]
It is no fire that geues no heate,
Though it appeare neuer so hotte:
And they that runne and can not sweate,
Are very leane and dry God wot (146. 7-10).

Thou maiest aswell be feareles, as he that holds ye wolfe by the eares: new wine will seaech [*sic*] to finde a vent, and wit will walke where will is bent: when the winde is not in a good coast, we must ship our oares and further our course: venter & conquer (Y2).

Shalbe as free from cares and feares,
As he that holds a wolfe by the eares (148. 24-25).
New wine will search to finde a vent,
Although the caske be neuer so strong:
And wit will walke when will is bent,
Although the way be neuer so long (146. 15-18).

Alas, what helpes the diall the blind, the clock the deafe, or wit him that wantes opportunitie? (Y2v).

What helps the dyall to the blinde,
Or els the clock without it sound (148. 20-21).

I raisde a star whereto direct my course, in whose prospect my tackle faild, my compas brake. I threshed for corne, & all is turnd to chaffe (Y).

In whose calme streames I sayld so farre
No ragyng storme had in respect:
Vntyll I raysde a goodly starre,
Wherto my course I did direct.
In whose prospect in doolfull wise,
My tackle failde my compasse brake (155. 8-13).

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[18] Probably Melbancke is referring to this poem when he asks (sig. R): "Didst thou neuer read the properties of the pretie *Merlin*, who holding the Larke all nighte betwene her litle talantes to kepe her warme, assoone as it is morning vnfastens her holde, & lettes her flie, and marking which way she takes her flighte, will not all the day following set winge to that corner?"

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the vertue of her thralling lookes so brauely gloste with glimsing grace, that thou wouldest wishe no other bookes to reade or looke vpon (C2).

> The vertue of her liuely lokes,
> Excels the precious stone:
> I wishe to haue none other bokes
> To read or loke vpon (155. 30-33).

Adrianus painted grapes so artificially, that birds pecked at them, neither could any descerne them, but with diligent marking (Y).

As this story is usually told of Zeuxis, it seems likely that Melbancke was borrowing from 168. 10-13:

> For thou art lyke vnto the dishe
> That Adrianus paynted:
> Wherin wer grapes portrayd so fayre
> That fowles for foode did there repayre.

A picture portrayed in wax showes as faire as one ingrauen in marble, but continewes not so long (G3v).

> Though in the waxe a perfect picture made,
> Dothe shew as fayre as in the marble stone, etc. (180. 20-25).

The Sun which falleth in the West with Eclipse of his lighte, riseth in the East with his firy garland: high springes may cease from swelling, but neuer drie away (Yv).

> Hie springes may cease from swellyng styll, but neuer dry away (181. 17).

Etrascus louing thirtie yeares, could not atchieue his harts desired choise, yet at ye end, found reward of his mistris (Y3).

This is almost certainly borrowed (as is a similar passage in the *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578 [ed. Rollins, p. 82]) from 181. 23-25:

> Thinke on Etrascus worthy loue that lasted thirty yeres,
> Which could not long atcheue his hartes desired choyse,
> Yet at the ende he founde rewarde that made him to reioyce.

A man may liue thrice *Nestors* yeares, thrice wander out *Vlisses* race, ere he gaine that by seruice, that sometime hath bene a common pencion (D3v).

> A Man may liue thrise Nestors life,
> Thrise wander out Vlisses race:
> Yet neuer finde Vlisses wife (201. 35-36—202. 2).

no remedie remaines, but death must be surgeon of thy sore (Y2v).

> To make death surgeant for my sore (243. 19).

What trylle the ball againe my Iacke, and be contente to make some play, and I will lulle the on my lappe, with hey be bird now say not nay (C2v).

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But trill the ball before my face,
I am content to make you play:
I will not se, I hide my face,
And turne my backe and ronne away (255. 12-15).

George Turbervile provides at least two passages for our learned young novelist:—

Even as the snowish swan dooth singe before she dye, vppon *Meanders* winding bankes, that sheds his straglinge streames and shears the fruitles sande with wrakfull waues, so singe I nowe not notes of ioye but layes of depe lamēt. I write not, for I thinke my wordes may ought preuaile: For why? I knowe the haughtie Gods at this my purpose spite. But since my welth, my corps, my fame, and spotles mind, are lost by canckred hap, to wast my wordes I recke it litle cost (T4v).

Euen so when fates doe call/ ystucht in moysted spring,
Vpon *Meanders* winding banckes/ the snowishe Swanne doth sing.
Not for I thinke my wordes/ may ought preuaile, I write:
For why I knowe the haughtie Gods,/ at this my purpose spite.
But since my fame, my corps,/ and spotlesse minde are lost
By cankred hap: to wast my woordes/ I reck it little cost.
(*The Heroycall Epistles of the learned Poet Publius Ouidius Naso*, 1567, E8v.)

his nose may be a comfort in distres, and a light in darkenes, and serue for a tinder boxe to light a candle at in winter, if he cast vp his nose against the sunne with open chapps, by his teeth may be discerned what is a clock perhapps (C3v).

Of one that had a great Nose.
Stande with thy nose against
the sunne with open chaps,
And by thy teeth we shall discerne
what tis a clock, perhaps.

The foregoing epigram is from Turbervile's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, p. 149), whence it was taken over almost literally in Timothy Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, H8v.

Three brief passages are all that I have observed as borrowed from George Gascoigne's works, and one of these is from a commendatory poem by Sir Walter Raleigh:

Sweete were the sauce would please ech kind of tast, straung were the veine that some man thoughts [*sic*] not vaine (M2).

Swete were the sauce, would please ech kind of tast,
The life likewise, were pure that never swerved.
("Walter Rawely of the middle Temple, in commendation of

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the Steele Glasse," verses prefixed to *The Steele Glas. A Satyre cõpiled by George Gascoigne Esquire*, 1576 [*Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. Cunliffe, II, 139].)

Still are you bounde by faith, though fancie would be free, still are you fast by othe, though loth to laste it out (S4v).

Fast bound by faith when fansie would be free,
Untied by trust, though thoughts enthrall my head.
(Gascoigne, "The shield of Love. &c." in *The Posies*, 1575 [*Complete Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 341].)

For Truth to tell, a simple naked tale, that in it selfe hath noe diuersitie, but alwayes showes one vndisguised face, & neuer fraught with contrarietye, ne is wont [l]ike deepe deceite to seeke a shrowding sheet, ne needs to bee wt proces pricked, and wrap his words in guilfnll [*sic*] eloquence (I2v-I3).

My woorthie dame, I finde that tried truthe
Doth beste beseeme a simple naked tale,
Ne needes to be with painted proces prickt,
That in hir selfe hath no diversitie,
But alwayes shewes one undisguised face,
Where deepe deceit and lies must seeke the shade,
And wrap their wordes in guilefull eloquence,
As ever fraught with contrarietie.
(Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, II. 1, 1566 [*Complete Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 269].)

Spenser's *Shepherds' Calendar* (1579) is likewise represented:

a thowsande tymes I curse the houre, wherein I went my saynte to se, & eke ten thowsande tymes I blesse the stoure, wherein I saw so fayre a sight as shee (H).

A thousand sithes I curse that carefull hower,
Wherein I longd the neighbour towne to see:
And eke tenne thousand sithes I blesse the stoure,
Wherein I sawe so fayre a sight, as shee ("January," lines 49-52).

I loued a Lasse (alas why did I so?) (Ee2).
I loue thilke lasse, (alas why doe I loue?) ("January," line 61).

And thou *Melpemmone* the mournefulst *Muse* of nyne, if I have euer daunced to thy dolefull tunes (B2v).
Up, then, Melpomene, thou mournefulst Muse of nyne ("November," line 53).

Happie was I (that *was* a woful word to saine) ah happie was I, that now am most miser (Y2v).
She while she was, (that was, a woful word to sayne) ("November," line 93).

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The seventeenth Earl of Oxford is represented by a borrowing from one of his lyrics that had not been printed in 1583:

Ah *Aurelia*, faine would I singe, but furie makes me fret, and rage hath sworne to seeke reuenge of wronge (R4v).

Feyne would I singe, but fury makes me frette,
And Rage hath sworne to seke reuenge of wrong.
(*Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, ed. Grosart, IV, 73; MS. Tanner 306, fol. 115v.)

The last examples that I shall give are thefts from Thomas Nuce's *Octavia*, in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581):

When slumber sweete in pensiue partes doth reigne, & sleepe in eyes all tired wt teares doth rest, I apprehēd *Cleooritus* genial face: me thinkes these armes they claspe their wonted phere (P4).

Whē slumber swete in pensiue parts doth raigne,
And sleepe in eyes, all tyrd with teares doth rest,
I apprehend deare *Brittans* liuely brest.
(I. 4, *op. cit.*, fol. 164v.)

With ease *Electra* I repeate thy case, whose father slaine, thy brother yet might venge (P4).

With ease *Electra* I repeate,
And call to mynd thy mourning will.
With watred eies like smartig sweat
Thou mightst lament thy father slain,
Stil hoping that thy brother myght,
That deadly deede reuenge agayne.
(The same work, I. 3, fol. 163.)

Nay, sooner shall the roaring froathie Seas ymatch the loftie Firmament iu [in] height, and hellish *Plutoes* feltered den, with starbright heauen shall sooner coupled bee, and shining lighte with gloomye shades agree, and with the cleare drie day the drearie night conioyne, and smoaking stifling scaldinge fire conuerte to frostie ysicle snowe, ere I forget (Vv).

Nay, sooner shall the roaring froathy seas,
And mounting flashing flawes ymatch the skye,
And smoaking, stifling parching fyer drye
With dankish pooles agree and watrye fenne:
And griesly *Plutoes* filthy feltred denne,
With starbright heauen shal sooner coupled be,
And shyning light with gloomy shades agree,
And with the cleere drye day the dewy night,
Than vnto seruile lore of husbande wight,
That brutish wyse in bloud takes his delight,
My heauy woeful mynd can I addresse.
(The same work, I. 4, fols. 167-167v.)

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I cannot flatter myself that I have detected all the borrowings in *Philotimus*.[14] No copy of the book is now accessible to me, and in reading through it hurriedly in the Bodleian I merely jotted down those passages that I could recognize immediately and a few others that seemed to be taken from poems, although I have not yet been able to identify them. A careful examination of the novel by some one more widely read in Elizabethan poetry than I would no doubt lead to the discovery of other striking borrowings. Meanwhile, the passages I have brought together make *Philotimus* one of the most surprising books of the period.

Harvard University.

[14] I am indebted to Miss Helen Sandison, of Vassar, for a hint that led to the detection of one of Melbancke's sources and to three of my students, especially Mr. H. F. Sipprell, for help in tracing four other passages.

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A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CRITICISM OF SHAKESPEARE

By R. W. Babcock

Primary Texts of Shakespeare Criticism in the Eighteenth Century

This bibliography of English critical Shakespeariana in the eighteenth century does not include editions, adaptations, alterations, operas, poems in general, French or German texts, articles in periodicals, etc. It is arranged chronologically, in five-year periods, from the Restoration to the early nineteenth century; but completeness has been sought for only within the years 1700-99. The sources of the texts here listed include a great many catalogues, among which the following are perhaps the most significant:

* The lists of "Detached Pieces of Criticism" in Johnson and Steevens' second (1778), third (1785), and fourth (1793) editions.

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* " " the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery, 1791.

* " " Richard Farmer's Library, 1798.

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speare; Birmingham Library Cat.; University of Chicago Library Cat.; Newberry Lib. Cat.; and many others.

The spelling of the poet's name varies considerably in the eighteenth century, often even within the same text. The general spelling seems to be "Shakspeare"; hence this is the form I have used when unable to verify precisely.

An * signifies that the work is a rare text in the University of Michigan Library, generally the large McMillan Shakespeare Collection.

[This bibliographical material is presented with a frank appeal for amplification and corrections, for I believe it is a pioneer attempt. Dubious points that need clarification or verification I have indicated by a "Q?"]

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A SECONDARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The following abbreviations have been used:
Contemp Rev., — *Contemporary Review.*
Fort Rev., — *Fortnightly Review.*
JEGP., — *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*
MLN., — *Modern Language Notes.*
MLR., — *Modern Language Review.*
MP., — *Modern Philology.*
N Brit Rev., — *North British Review.*
N & Q., — *Notes and Queries.*
PMLA., — *Publications of Modern Language Association.*
PQ., — *Philological Quarterly.*
Quart Rev., — *Quarterly Review.*
RES., — *Review of English Studies.*
TLS., — *London Times Literary Supplement.*

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